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C. K. OGDEN







THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
HERODOTUS,

LITERALLY TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH;

ILLUSTRATED

WITH NOTES,

EXPLANATORY AND CRITICAL,

FROM

LARCHER, RENNELL, MITFORD, SCHWEIGHÆUSER,

MODERN BOOKS OF TRAVELS, &c. &c.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

LARCHER'S TABLE

OF THE CHRONOLOGY OF HERODOTUS.

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BY

A GRADUATE OF THE UNIVERSITY.

*A confounded School.*

*Five volumes*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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VOL. II.

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OXFORD:

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# THE HISTORY OF HERODOTUS.

## BOOK V.

### TERPSICHORE.

THE Persians, left<sup>a</sup> in Europe under the orders of Megabyzus, subdued the Perinthians<sup>b</sup> first of all the Hellespontines, who were unwilling to submit to Darius, and had been before roughly handled by the Pæonians. For the Pæonians<sup>c</sup>, who inhabit upon the river Strymon, had been admonished by an oracle to invade the Perinthians; and if the Perinthians, when encamped over against them, should call on them by name to fight, then to engage; otherwise not. The Pæonians did as they were instructed. The Perinthians having marched out, encamped in the suburbs, and there a threefold single combat took place according to a challenge; for they matched a man with a man, a horse with a horse, and a dog with a dog. The Perinthians, being victorious in two of these duels, were so full of joy, that they began to sing the Pæan<sup>d</sup>: the Pæonians conjectured that this was the meaning of the oracle, and said among themselves, "The prediction is now accomplished;

<sup>a</sup> Herodotus here continues the history of Darius, which he had interrupted at ch. 144. of the last book, in order to speak of Lybia.

<sup>b</sup> Perinthus, otherwise called Heraclea, is on the shores of Propontis.

<sup>c</sup> Pæonia began on the north at mount Scomius and extended towards the south, between the mountains Cercinus and Pangeus. It also comprehended, at the south of Bisaltia, the Pæonic plain and the lake Prasias. The greater part of the country is east of Strymon. It also ex-

tended beyond mount Cercinus, because Doberus, which was called Pæonica, is on the western bank of a river which falls into the Echidorus. *Larcher.*

<sup>d</sup> The Pæon or Pæan was a song of which there were two kinds. The first was chaunted before the battle in honor of Mars. The other after the victory in honor of Apollo. This hymn commenced with the words Io Pæan. The allusion of the word Pæon to the name of Pæonians is obvious. *Larcher.*

"our work is next:" and immediately they fell upon the Perinthians as they were singing the Pæan, and were so completely superior, that they left but few of them.

II. In this manner the Perinthians were defeated by the Pæonians: but against Megabyzus they behaved themselves with valour in defence of their liberty; and were oppressed only by the numbers of the Persians. After the taking of Perinthus, Megabyzus advanced with his army, and reduced all the cities and nations of Thrace to the obedience of the king. For Darius had commanded him to subdue the Thracians.

III. This nation is the greatest<sup>e</sup> of any among men, except the Indians: and in my opinion, if the Thracians were either under the government of one person, or unanimous in their counsels, they would be invincible, and by far the strongest people of the world. But this is impracticable, and it is impossible for it ever to take place, and therefore they are feeble. They go under several names, according to the places they inhabit; but all observe the same customs, except the Getæ, the Trausi, and those who dwell above the Crestonæans.

IV. I have already spoken of the customs of the Getæ, who pretend to be immortal. The Trausi differ in nothing from the rest of the Thracians, except in the customs they observe with regard to the birth of a child or the death of a person. When a child is born<sup>f</sup>, his relations, sitting in a circle about him, deplore his condition, on account of the evils he must fulfil, since he has been born; enumerating the various calamities incident to mankind. But when a man is dead, they inter him with exultation and rejoicings, repeating the miseries he has exchanged for a complete felicity.

V. Those who live above the Crestonæans have each many

<sup>e</sup> Thucydides places them after the Scythians. See book ii. ch. 97. Pausanias after the Celtæ. Attic. i. 9.

<sup>f</sup> As this country is confined on the east and south by the sea, and on the north by the Danube, and as Macedonia and Pæonia are mentioned by Herodotus as distinct countries, the extent of Thrace, even allowing it to extend into Dardania and Mæsia, must be much more circumscribed than the idea our author allows. It has, however, more extended limits in his geography, than in succeeding authors, and perhaps it might have included most of the space along the south of the Danube, between the Euxine and Istria, meeting the borders of Macedonia, Pæonia, &c. on the south; and the Sigyn-

næ might have occupied the N.W. quarter of the modern Serbia, Bosnia and Croatia. *Rennell*, 44.

<sup>f</sup> We find the same sentiment in a fragment of the *Cresphontes* of Euripides, which is preserved by several authors, and translated in the following manner by Cicero *Tuscul.* i. 48.

"Nam nos decebat, cœtu celebrantes,  
"domum  
"Lugere, ubi esset aliquis in lucem  
"editus,  
"Humanæ vitæ varia repuntantes mala:  
"At, qui labores morte finisset graves,  
"Hunc omni amicis laude et lætitiâ ex-  
"sequi."

See also Gray's Ode on Eton College.



wives; when any of them dies, a great contest arises among the wives, and violent interests among their friends, on this point, which of them was most loved by the husband. In the end, she who is adjudged to have merited that honour, having received great commendations both from the men and women, is killed upon the tomb<sup>s</sup> by the nearest of her relations, and buried together with her husband; the other wives consider it as a great misfortune, for this is accounted to them as the utmost disgrace.

VI. The rest of the Thracians sell their children to be carried out of the country. They keep no watch over their daughters; but suffer them to entertain any men they like. Nevertheless they keep their wives under a strict guard, and purchase them of their relations at a great rate. To be marked with punctures<sup>h</sup> is accounted a sign of noble birth; to be without such marks, ignoble. Idleness<sup>i</sup> is esteemed most honourable; husbandry most dishonourable; and to subsist by war and rapine is thought glorious. These are the most remarkable customs of this nation.

VII. They worship the following Gods only, Mars, Bacchus, and Diana. But their kings alone particularly venerate Mercury; they swear by his name alone, and pretend to be descended from him.

VIII. The funerals of wealthy men are celebrated in this manner. They expose the corpse to public view during three days; and after they have performed their lamentations, they sacrifice all kinds of animals, and apply themselves to feasting. Then they complete the rites of sepulture<sup>k</sup>, after having

‡ This custom was also observed by the Getæ, (Steph. Byz.) At this day in India, women burn themselves with the bodies of their husbands, which custom is very ancient. Diodorus Siculus mentions it, (xix. 33, 34.) and also Propertius, lib. iii. Eleg. xiii. Al. ix. ver. 19.

“ Et certamen habent leti, quæ viva sequatur

“ Conjugium; pudor est non licuisse mori.

“ Ardent victrices, et flammæ pectora præbent

“ Imponuntque suis ora perusta viris.”

Cicero also mentions the same fact. Tuscl. v. 27.

We may suppose that these Thracians, as well as the Getæ, believed in the immortality of the soul, for what other motive could urge them to this sacrifice? Larcher.

We cannot help remarking, (having ourselves witnessed a sacrifice of this

kind in India,) how many points of resemblance there are between what we saw and the mode described by Herodotus. Rennell, p. 46. See also p. 311, and seq.

<sup>h</sup> If Plutarch (de Serâ num. vindict. p. 557.) may be credited, the Thracians in his time made these punctures on their wives, to revenge the death of Orpheus. If this be the true reason, it is remarkable, that what was in its origin a punishment, became afterwards a mark of nobility and an ornament. Larcher.

<sup>i</sup> Ἀργός opposed to γῆς ἐργάτης, signifies one who does not labour in the fields. He went, as is presently explained, to war and plunder, &c. Valckenaer.

<sup>k</sup> Θάπτω in Greek, sepelio in Latin; and hence sepultura are generic terms, and express every way in which the last duties are paid to the dead. Larcher brings a great number of examples to shew this.

burnt him or buried him in the earth; and having thrown up a mound of earth<sup>1</sup> over the grave, celebrate all manner of games, in which the greatest rewards are adjudged to single combat, on account of the estimation in which it is held. And such are their funeral rites.

IX. Concerning the northern parts of this region, no man can certainly affirm by what people they are possessed. But those beyond the Danube appear to be desert and unbounded, inhabited by no other men, that I have heard of, but the *Sigynnæ*<sup>m</sup>, who wear the Median habit, and have horses covered over with shaggy hair, which is five digits long, they are low of stature, and have short flat noses and are unable to carry men; yet they draw a chariot with exceeding swiftness, and therefore the natives use chariots. Their confines extend as far as the *Veneti* on the Adriatic. They affirm that they are a colony of the *Medes*<sup>n</sup>. But by what means that colony came thither I cannot say; though nothing be impossible to happen in length of time<sup>o</sup>. The *Ligurians*, who inhabit beyond *Marseilles*, call merchants, *Sigynnæ*, and the *Cyprians* call javelins<sup>p</sup> also by that name.

X. The *Thracians* say, that the parts which lie beyond the Danube are full of bees, and on that account impassable. But I think their assertion carries no appearance of truth, because that animal cannot endure the cold; and I am inclined to believe that the excessive frosts of the northern climates, are the only cause why those countries are uninhabited. This is what is related of these parts, of which *Megabyzus* reduced all the maritime places to the obedience of *Darius*.

XI. No sooner was *Darius* arrived at *Sardis*, after he had repassed the *Hellespont*, than remembering the good offices

<sup>1</sup> Over the place of burial of illustrious persons, they raised a kind of tumulus of earth. This is expressed by Virgil, "In gens adgeritur tumulo tellus." *Æneid*. iii. ver. 63. *Larcher*.

<sup>m</sup> The context, as it stands, appears contradictory; for the *Sigynnæ* are said to lie beyond the Danube, and yet to extend almost to the *Eneti* on the Adriatic. Now, he had been speaking of *Thrace*, and of its northern part, concerning which nothing decisive had been ascertained; and after this, he introduces the country, north of the Danube, as a vast and almost endless space; and says, that it is inhabited by the *Sigynnæ*, who extend almost to the *Adriatic*. May it not be suspected, that the sentence respecting the country beyond the Danube is misplaced altogether, and that the author intended to say that "the *Sigynnæ* inhabited the nor-

"thern part of *Thrace*," which lay, however, on the south, or Grecian side of the Danube? *Signia* is a position in ancient geography, on the Adriatic, towards the ancient seats of the *Veneti*. Query, has it any connection with the *Sigynnæ* of our author? *Reunell*, p. 43, 44.

<sup>n</sup> When the *Scythians* subjugated part of *Asia*, they were the cause of several colonies going from it, and among others one from the *Assyrians*, which transplanted itself into *Asia Minor*, and another from the *Medes*, which went towards the *Tanais* and formed the nation of the *Sauromatæ*. *Diodorus Siculus* ii. 43. Were the *Sigynnæ* descended from a branch of these *Sauromatæ*? *Larcher*.

<sup>o</sup> See also *Sophocles*. *Ajax*, v. 655.

<sup>p</sup> This is also mentioned by *Aristot.* *Poetic*. 35.



of Histiaëus the Milesian, and the counsel of Coes of Mitylene, he sent for both those persons, and gave them the choice of their recompence. Histiaëus, as being already tyrant of Miletus, demanded no other dominion; but asked for the Edonian<sup>a</sup> Myrcinus, in order to build a city there. But Coes, who was a private man, and possessed of no government, requested the dominion of Mitylene. They easily obtained all they desired, and then departed to take possession.

XII. About the same time it happened that Darius, having witnessed a circumstance of the following kind, became desirous of commanding Megabyzus to transplant the Pæonians out of Europe into Asia. For Pigres and Mantyes, two Pæonians, being desirous to become masters of Pæonia, came to Sardis, after the return of Darius, accompanied by their sister, who was a tall and beautiful person; and having watched the opportunity when Darius was sitting in public in the suburbs of the Lydians, they dressed their sister in the best manner they could, and sent her for water, carrying a pitcher on her head<sup>r</sup>, leading a horse by a bridle hanging upon her arm, and at the same time spinning thread. As she passed by Darius, it excited his attention; and because what she was doing was altogether different from the customs of the Persians and Lydians, and also of any other people in Asia, he ordered some of his guards to observe what she would do with the horse. The guards followed her, and when she came down to the river, she watered the horse, and having filled her pitcher, returned again by the same way, carrying the water on her head, leading her horse, and turning her distaff.

XIII. Darius, surprised with the account they gave, and with what he himself had seen, commanded her to be brought into his presence; where she was no sooner introduced, than her brothers, who at no great distance had kept a look-out, appeared likewise; and when Darius asked of what country she was, the young men made answer, that they were Pæonians, and that the maid was their sister. The king proceeding to inquire, what sort of men the Pæonians were, in what part of the world they lived, and upon what motive they themselves came to Sardis, received for answer, That they came to put themselves under his protection; that Pæonia and its towns are<sup>s</sup> situate upon the river Strymon, not far from the

<sup>a</sup> Edonis is a small country of Thrace, between mount Orbelus and the Strymon. A country called Phyllis lay to the north and on the south side, it extended to the Ægean, and was nearly opposite to Thasus. Myrcinus was on the Strymon, a little to the north of Novemvæ or Amphipolis.

<sup>r</sup> Nicholas Damascenus tells a similar story of Alyattes king of Sardis, with regard to a woman of Mysia in Thrace. Excerpt. pag. 494, &c.

<sup>s</sup> The Pæonians of Appian (de Illyricis 22.) are the Pannonians of the Latins. Wesseling.



Hellespont; and that the people are a colony of Teucrians, from the city of Troy. When they had given account of these particulars, Darius farther demanded, if all the women of that country were as industrious as their sister; and the Pæonians, who had contrived the whole design to no other end, readily answered they were.

XIV. Upon which Darius writes letters to Megabyzus, general of his forces in Thrace, requiring him to compel the Pæonians to leave their country, and to bring them to him with their wives and children. Immediately a messenger on horseback proceeded with expedition to the Hellespont; and having passed it, delivered the letters to Megabyzus, who, after he had read the contents, taking guides in Thrace, led his army towards Pæonia.

XV. When the Pæonians heard that the Persians were coming to invade them, they drew all their forces towards the sea, thinking the Persians would attempt to enter that way, and prepared to dispute their passage. But Megabyzus, understanding that the whole strength of Pæonia was in readiness to receive him on that side, took his way, by the direction of his guides, towards the upper part of the country; and having escaped the notice of the Pæonians, came suddenly on their towns and easily got possession of them, since they were empty. The Pæonians no sooner heard that their cities were taken, than they dispersed themselves; and every man returning home, the whole country submitted to the Persians. And in this manner all those Pæonians, who were known by the names of Siropæonians and Pæoplæ, together with the people of those parts as far as the lake Prasias, were forcibly removed from their ancient seats, and transported into Asia.

XVI. But those Pæonians who dwell near mount Pangæus and near the Doberes, Agrianæ, and Odomanti; and those next adjoining to the lake, were not at all conquered by Megabyzus. Yet he attempted to subdue those, who live upon the lake in dwellings contrived after this manner: long piles are fixed<sup>t</sup> in the middle of the lake, upon which planks are placed, which being joined by a narrow bridge to the land, is the only way that leads to their habitations. These piles were formerly erected at the common charge; but afterwards they made a law, to oblige all men, for every wife they should marry, to fix three of them in the lake, and to cut the timber upon mount Orbelus. On these planks every man has a hut, with a trap-door opening through the planks, down to the wa-

<sup>t</sup>Thcerkask, the capital of the Cossacks of the Don, is built in the same manner; but as the waters of the lake Prasias are

tranquil, and the Tanais is a very rapid river, this construction is more wonderful. *Larcher.*

ter. They tie a string about the foot of their young children, lest they should fall into the lake; and feed their horses and other labouring cattle with fish<sup>u</sup>, which abound so much there, that when a man has turned back his trap-door, he lets down an empty basket by a cord into the lake, and, after waiting a short time, draws it up full of fish. Of these they have two kinds, called the Papraces and Tilones.

XVII. After Megabyzus had taken the cities of the Pæonians, he dispatched seven Persians, who next to himself were most illustrious in the army to Macedonia, with orders to require Amyntas to acknowledge king Darius by a present of earth and water. From the lake Prasias<sup>x</sup> to Macedonia is a very short distance. For, passing by a mine, which is near that lake, and afterwards yielded a talent of silver every day to Alexander, men ascend the mountain Dysorum; and on the other side, at the foot of the hill, enter into the territories of Macedonia.

XVIII. When the Persians arrived, they went to Amyntas, and demanded earth and water in the name of Darius. Amyntas not only promised<sup>y</sup> them what they required, but received them for his guests; and having prepared a magnificent feast, entertained them with great kindness. After the repast, the Persians, while pledging one another, said, "O Macedonian host, when we make a great feast in Persia, our manner is to bring in our concubines and young women to sit beside us; and therefore, since you have received us kindly and have treated us with such magnificence, and offer to give to king Darius earth and water, we invite you to imitate our custom." Amyntas answered, "The manner of our country is quite different, for we keep our women separated from men; nevertheless, because you are our masters, and require their attendance, we will do as you desire." Having finished these words, he sent for the women, who, coming in as they were ordered, sat down in order opposite to the Persians. But when they saw the women were

<sup>u</sup> Torffæus, in his history of Norway, (part i. lib. ii. 24.) informs us, that in the cold and maritime parts of Europe, cattle are fed with fish. *Wesseling.*

<sup>x</sup> It is the more difficult to determine the position of mount Dysorum and the lake Prasias, since Herodotus is the only ancient author who has spoken of them. Opposite Thasus was the town of Datus, which was afterwards called Crenides and then Philippi, when Philip had gained possession of it. Near this town there were some very abundant gold-mines in the hill of Bacchus. To the S.W. of this

town there was a lake or morass, which is undoubtedly the lake Prasias. Mount Dysorum is perhaps a branch of Pangeus, or some insulated hill, probably near the plain of Sylea. M. D'Anville, without any kind of authority, pretends that the lake Bolbe is the lake Prasias. *Larcher.*

<sup>y</sup> Ἐδίδου here signifies, *se traditurum vel tradere dixit*. So in book ix. c. 109. In Appian also, Hist. Syriac. 29, διδοῦς and δοῦναι have the same force as ὑπισχεῖσθαι, *to offer, to promise, to engage, to give.* *Schweigh.*



very beautiful, the Persians told Amyntas that what had been done was not very prudent, for it were better that the women should not have come at all, than that, when they had come, they should not be placed beside them, but sit opposite to them as a torment to their eyes<sup>2</sup>. Upon this Amyntas, compelled by necessity, ordered the women to sit down by the men; which when they had done, the Persians, as having drank rather too much, began to handle their breasts; and some one even attempted to kiss them.

XIX. These actions Amyntas saw with indignation; yet sat quiet, because he was very much afraid of the Persian power. But his son Alexander, who was present, and observed the same things, being a young man and inexperienced in misfortune, was no longer able to endure their insolence; and therefore said to Amyntas, "Father, yield to your age; and, leaving the company, retire to your rest. I will stay here, and furnish these guests with all things necessary." Amyntas perceiving that Alexander had some rash design to put in execution; "Son," said he, "I pretty well discern by your words that you are inflamed with anger, and that you wish to dismiss me that you may attempt some new design. I charge you therefore to undertake nothing against these men, lest you cause our ruin; but be contented to observe their actions with patience; and for my own part, I will comply and retire."

XX. When Amyntas had made this request and had retired, Alexander spoke to the Persians in these terms: "Friends," said he, "these women are completely at your command; you may lie with all, or as many of them as you please; and therefore I desire you to declare your intentions with freedom; for the time for retiring is fast approaching, and I perceive that you are abundantly replenished with wine. Only permit them, if it is agreeable to you, to go out to bathe, and after that, expect their return." The Persians assented to his proposal, and Alexander sent away the women, as they came out, to their own apartment; and having dressed a like number of smoothfaced young men in the habit of women, he furnished every one with a poignard, and led them in to the Persians. "Persians," said he, as he led them in, "we believe that we have feasted you with every magnificence; for we have given you not only all we had, but whatever we could procure: and, which is more than all the rest, we now freely give up to you our matrons and sisters, that you may be abundantly

<sup>2</sup> Longinus (de Sublim. iv.) and the greater part of critics censure this expression as frigid. Many learned men have vindicated it.



“persuaded, we have paid you all the honours you deserve; and also that at your return you may report to the king who sent you, that a Greek, the prince of Macedonia, gave you a good reception both at table and bed.” Having thus spoken, Alexander placed next every Persian a young Macedonian man, as if a woman, who immediately dispatched the Persians, when they attempted to caress them.

XXI. This was the fate of these Persians, and of their attendants, who, together with the chariots and all the baggage, which was very considerable, presently disappeared. After some time, great search was made by the Persians for these men; but Alexander by his prudence checked their inquiry, by giving a considerable sum of money, and his sister Gygea, to Bubares<sup>a</sup> a Persian, the chief of those who were sent to search for those who were lost; and by this management the death of these Persians was suppressed and buried in silence.

XXII. That these princes, who are descended from Perdiccas are Greeks, as they themselves affirm; I have also learnt for certain, and I will more particularly shew that they are so, in a future part of my history<sup>b</sup>. Nay, the judges presiding<sup>c</sup> in the Olympian exercises have determined the question; for when Alexander came thither with a design to enter the lists, the antagonists wished to exclude him, alleging, that those games were instituted for Grecian, and not for Barbarian combatants. But Alexander, after he had proved himself to be an Argive, was pronounced to be a Greek, and when he offered himself to contend in the stadium, his lot fell out of the urn<sup>d</sup> with that of the first combatant. In this manner were these things transacted.

<sup>a</sup> He was the son of Megabyzus; see book vii. ch. 21.

<sup>b</sup> See book viii. ch. 137, 138.

<sup>c</sup> The judges who presided at the Olympic games were called Hellanodicæ; their number varied at different times; they were a long time ten, sometimes more, sometimes less, according to the number of the Elean tribes; but finally, in the 108th Olympiad, it reverted to ten. They did not all judge promiscuously at every contest, but only such as were deputed to do so. Appeals might be made from their decisions, and they might even be accused before the senate of Olympia, who sometimes set aside their determinations. Those who were chosen Hellanodicæ were compelled to reside ten months successively in a building appropriated to their use at Olympia, and named Hellanodicæon, in

order to instruct themselves previously to entering on their office. See Pausan. Eliac. ii. lib. vi. c. 3, 24. *Larcher*.

<sup>d</sup> The combatants at the Olympic games were matched in the following manner, (Lucian, *Hermotim*, 40.) A silver urn sacred to the God was produced, into which some small lots, about the size of beans, were thrown: two of which were marked A. two B. two C. and so on according to the number of competitors. The combatants then advanced one by one, and each addressing a prayer to Jupiter, put his hand into the urn and drew out a lot. A herald stood near with a cudgel uplifted, ready to strike any one who attempted to see what letter was on his lot. When they had all drawn, the Alytarch, or one of the Hellanodicæ, took the lot from each of the combatants, who were arranged

XXIII. Megabyzus with the Pæonian captives arrived at the Hellespont, and having crossed over, came to Sardis. In the mean time Histæus the Milesian was employed in building a city on the river Strymon in the territory of Myrcinus, which Darius had given him upon his request, for the reward of his care in preserving the bridge. But Megabyzus, having heard of his enterprize, no sooner arrived in Sardis, than he spoke to Darius in these terms: "O king," said he, "what have you done, in permitting a crafty and "subtle Greek to found a city in Thrace, where there is "abundance of timber fit for building ships, and abundance "of wood fit for making oars, and mines of silver? A great "multitude of Greeks and Barbarians dwell around, who "when they have obtained him as a leader, will do whatever "he may command both by day and by night. Put a stop "therefore to the proceedings of this man, that you may not "be embarrassed with an intestine war. To that end, send "for him by a gentle message; and when he is in your power, "take care he may never return to Greece."

XXIV. By these words Megabyzus easily persuaded Darius, since he wisely foresaw what was likely to happen. He immediately therefore sent a man to Myrcinus with the following message. "Histæus, king Darius says thus: After "mature deliberation I cannot find any man who bears more "good will to my person and my affairs than thyself; which "truth I have learnt, not by words, but actions; and on that "account, having great designs to put in execution, I require thee to come to me with all speed, that I may communicate them to thee." Histæus giving credit to these words, and highly valuing the honour of being a counsellor to the king, went to Sardis; where, upon his arrival, Darius said to him: "Histæus, I have sent for thee on this occasion. Ever since my return from Scythia, and thy departure from my sight, I have had no greater desire than "to see and converse with thee again; persuaded that a "wise and affectionate friend is the most valuable of all possessions; and that both these qualifications concur in thy "person, my own affairs have given me sufficient proof: now "because thy arrival is so acceptable to me, I will make thee "an offer. Think no more of Miletus, nor of the city thou

in a circle, and matched those who had drawn the same letter. If the number of competitors was unequal, he who drew the odd letter was matched against the victor, which was no small advantage, as he had to engage quite fresh with a man already fatigued. *Bellanger.*

'Εξέπιντε is the same as the ἐκ δ' ἔθορε of Homer, *Iliad* vii. ver. 182, 183. The following passage of Livy agrees with this of Herodotus; "Ut primam "ipsius et antagonistæ sortem exiisse "optimus auctor significat," xxiii. 3. *Larcher.*



"art building in Thrace; but follow me to Susa, take part of all I possess, and be the partner of my food and counsels."

XXV. After this, Darius departed for Susa, accompanied by Histæus; having first appointed Artaphernes, his brother by the father, to be governor of Sardis. The command of the maritime parts he left to Otanes, whose father Sisamnes had been one of the royal judges, and was put to death by Cambyzes for receiving a sum of money to pronounce an unjust sentence. By the king's order his body was flayed, and his whole skin being cut into thongs, was extended on the bench<sup>e</sup> where he used to sit. And when this was done, Cambyzes placed the son of Sisamnes in the office of his father, admonishing him to remember on what tribunal he sat to administer justice.

XXVI. This Otanes, who had performed the office of a judge on that seat, being now appointed successor to Megabyzus in the command of the army, subdued the Byzantians and Chalcædonians, with the cities of Lamponium<sup>f</sup> and Antandros, which is in Troas. He also possessed himself of Lemnos and Imbrus by the assistance of the Lesbian fleet; both which places were even then inhabited by the Pelasgians<sup>g</sup>.

XXVII. The Lemnians having fought valiantly, and defended themselves, were at length reduced; and over those who survived, the Persians set up as governor Lycaretus, the brother of Mæandrius who had once reigned in Samos. This Lycaretus died while governor of Lemnos. Otanes reduced to slavery<sup>h</sup> and subdued all these people; charging some, that they had deserted the army of Darius in the Scythian expedition; and others, that they had harassed his forces in their return. Such was his conduct while general.

<sup>e</sup> It appears that it was the custom at Persia to cover with the skins of unjust judges the seats from which they used to administer justice. They sometimes flayed them alive, sometimes they put them to death first. Artaxerxes (Diod. Sic. x. 10.) treated in that manner some unjust judges. They were flayed alive. *Larcher*.

<sup>f</sup> This town was in Troas, north of the gulf of Adramyttium, and between Antandros and Gargara. Chalcædon, Lamponium, and Antandros were in Asia, and consequently not within the government of Otanes, who succeeded to Megabyzus in Europe. But perhaps Otanes had governed the coast of Asia, before he succeeded Megabyzus. *Larcher*.

<sup>g</sup> It appears by the commencement of

the preceding chapter, that Otanes was not appointed to that place till after the Scythian expedition, which must be about 507 or 508 years B.C. But at that time there were no Pelasgians in those islands, for Miltiades (vi. 139.) had expelled them three years before. This confirms my supposition in the last note. Every thing is perfectly consistent. Otanes invaded Lemnos and Imbros, B. C. 511, or 512, and contented with their submission, left them in possession of the island. Miltiades expelled them, B. C. 510. *Larcher*. See book vi. ch. 136.

<sup>h</sup> This passage has given great trouble. I have followed Schweighæuser and *Larcher*.



XXVIII. Not long after there was an intermission from misfortune, but evils soon began again to arise to the Ionians from Naxus<sup>1</sup> and Miletus. Naxus surpassed all the islands in opulence, and at the same time Miletus was in a state of greater prosperity than ever, and accounted the ornament of Ionia; though that city had before been afflicted with domestic disorders during two generations, till their differences were composed by the Parians<sup>k</sup>; for the Milesians had chosen these to settle their affairs out of all the Greeks.

XXIX. The Parians reconciled them in the following manner. Some of their most eminent men arriving in Miletus, and seeing that their private affairs were in a dreadful state, told the Milesians, they wished to survey their whole country; which as they were doing, wheresoever they saw in the higher region<sup>1</sup> any portion of land well cultivated, they wrote down the name of the possessor. After they had passed through all the Milesian territories, and found very few such possessions, they descended into the city, and having called an assembly, declared that the government should be put into the hands of those persons whose lands they had found well cultivated; not doubting that they would administer the public affairs with the same care they had taken of their own. They strictly enjoined all the rest of the Milesians, who before had been split into factions, to obey these magistrates; and in this manner settled the affairs of Miletus.

XXX. From these two places misfortunes began to befall the Ionians in the following manner. Some of the rich men of Naxus being banished by the people, fled to Miletus; the administration of which place was then in the hands of Aristagoras the son of Molpagoras, nephew and son-in-law to Histiaëus the son Lysagoras, who was detained by Darius at Susa. For Histiaëus was tyrant of Miletus, and during his detention in Asia, the Naxians arrived; and, in confidence of the engagements they and Histiaëus were under to a reci-

<sup>1</sup> This is the largest and most fertile of the Cyclades. It was originally called Strongyle, and was at that time inhabited by Thracians. The Thessalians afterwards became masters of it, and called it Dia. The Carians afterwards established themselves in it, and gave it the name of Naxus, after their king. It is now called Naxia.

<sup>k</sup> The Parians at the present day have the same reputation for justice, and the Greeks of the neighbouring islands frequently make them arbitrators of their disputes. Tournefort, Letter V. p. 204.

<sup>1</sup> Ἐν ἀνεσθηκυῖᾳ τῇ χώρῃ. This, Larcher and others translate in the desolate and uncultivated land.

The author appears to me to mean, that in the plains in the neighbourhood of the city, the cultivation of the land was neglected, but in the higher lands some were found diligent. Ἀναστήματα γῆς, are high lands. Diodorus Sic. v. 40. They then descended (κατέβησαν) into the city. Schweighæuser.

That the country around Miletus was such, is stated by Herodotus himself, book vi. ch. 20.

procal hospitality, desired some assistance of Aristagoras, in order to restore them to their country. Aristagoras thinking to get the dominion of Naxos, if these men were once restored by his power, took occasion from their former hospitality to make them an offer in these terms: "For my own part I am not able to furnish you with a force sufficient to re-establish you in Naxos, against the inclinations of those who are in possession, because I hear they have eight thousand heavy-armed men, and a considerable number of ships of war. Yet I will contrive some way, and use my best endeavours to assist you on this occasion. Artaphernes, the son of Hystaspes and brother of Darius, is my friend. He commands all the maritime parts of Asia<sup>m</sup>, and has a numerous army, with many great ships. This man, I am persuaded, will do whatever we may desire." The Naxians hearing his proposal, desired Aristagoras to bring about this affair in the best manner he could, authorizing him to promise presents, and to engage for the expence of the army; all which, they said, they would repay, having great expectation that their countrymen upon their appearance would do whatever they should order, and that the rest of the islanders would follow their example; for at that time none of the Cyclades were under the dominion of Darius.

XXXI. Accordingly Aristagoras went to Sardis, and acquainted Artaphernes, that Naxos was a beautiful and fertile island, though not large, in the neighbourhood of Ionia, and abounding in wealth and slaves. "For these reasons," said he, "I counsel you to make war upon that country, and re-establish those persons who have been banished from thence. Which if you do, you shall not only receive a great sum of money, already lodged in my hands, together with provisions for the army, (for it is just that we who lead you on to the enterprize should supply that,) but besides the acquisition of Naxos, you will put the king into possession of Paros, Andros, and the rest of the dependent islands<sup>n</sup> that go under the name of the Cyclades. Setting out from hence, you will easily attack Eubœa, a great and wealthy island, equal in extent to Cyprus, and very easily to be taken. A hundred ships are sufficient to subdue all these islands." Artaphernes replied, "You propose an enterprize of great advantage to the king, and prudently advise in every thing, except the number of ships; for instead of one hundred, which you demand, two hundred

<sup>m</sup> Herodotus added the latter part to distinguish it from the government of Otanes, which was over the shores of Thrace and Europe.

<sup>n</sup> The other Cyclades were not subject to Naxos, but as it was the most considerable, its capture would involve that of the others. *Larcher.*



“shall be ready in the ensuing spring. But the king’s consent must first be obtained.”

XXXII. With this answer Aristagoras returned very well satisfied to Miletus. In the mean time Artaphernes sent to Susa, to acquaint Darius with the enterprize proposed by Aristagoras; and after he had obtained his approbation, made ready two hundred ships, and assembled a great army of Persians and their confederates; appointing for general of these forces, Megabates a Persian, who was of the Achemenian blood, nephew to himself and Darius, whose daughter, if the report be true<sup>o</sup>, was afterwards betrothed to Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus the Lacedæmonian, who aspired to the dominion of Greece. When Artaphernes had declared Megabates general, he sent him with the army to Aristagoras.

XXXIII. Megabates, accompanied by Aristagoras, with the Ionian forces and the Naxians, departed from Miletus, and made a feint of sailing to the Hellespont. But when he arrived at Chios, he stopped near Caucasas<sup>p</sup>, in order to cross over to Naxus by the favour of a north wind. But since it was fated that the Naxians were not to perish by this army, the following circumstance happened. Megabates, in going his rounds to the watches of the fleet, found a Myndian ship without any guard; being indignant at this, he commanded his officers to find the captain, whose name was Scylax, and to bind him with his head through one of the holes that were pierced for the oars<sup>q</sup>; so that his head appeared on the outside of the vessel, while the rest of his body remained within. Aristagoras being informed in what manner his friend Scylax of Myndus was bound and disgraced by Megabates, went to the Persian and interceded for him, but when he found he could obtain nothing, he went and set him at liberty with his own hands. Megabates hearing of this action, and thinking himself highly affronted, expressed his anger to him; but Aristagoras in answer said, “What have you to do with these things? Has not Artaphernes sent you to obey me, and sail to what part soever I shall command? Why are you officious?” Megabates, exasperated at this, as soon as night arrived dispatched certain persons to Naxus, with order to inform the Naxians of the impending danger.

XXXIV. The Naxians did not at all expect that the

<sup>o</sup> It appears by this, that when Herodotus wrote this he had no knowledge of the letter in which Pausanias demanded of Xerxes his daughter in marriage. It may be seen in Thucydides, book i. ch. 128. *Larcher*.

<sup>p</sup> This place is unknown, since no author has spoken of it. See the *Essais de*

*Critique sur les Traductions d’Herodote*, by the Abbé Bellanger, p. 159.

<sup>q</sup> Vincire trajectum per thalamium navis, id est foramen per quod infimiremi extant. *Wesseling*. Mitford (ch. vii. l.) translates the passage thus; “ordered him to be tied in his own cabin, with his head out of the window.”



armament was coming against them; accordingly, when they heard of it, they immediately carried every thing from the fields into the town, and laid up provisions of meat and drink, and prepared to undergo a siege. These therefore got ready as if war was close at hand; and when the Persians crossed over from Chios and to Naxos, they found them perfectly well defended, and besieged them during four months. So that having consumed what they brought, together with great sums furnished by Aristagoras, and wanting still more to carry on the siege, they built a fortress for the Naxian exiles, and retired to the continent, having miscarried in their enterprise.

XXXV. Aristagoras was unable to fulfil the engagements he had made to Artaphernes; and as the expence of the expedition, which was demanded, pressed heavy on him, he became alarmed on account of this ill success, and the accusations of Megabates; he also thought that he should be deprived of the dominion of Miletus; and dreading each of these things, he began to think of revolting from the king: it happened also that at the same time a messenger with his head marked<sup>r</sup> came from Susa from Histiaëus, urging Aristagoras to revolt. For Histiaëus being desirous to signify his intentions to Aristagoras, and finding no other way, because all the passages were guarded, shaved the head of one of his servants, in whose fidelity he most confided, and having imprinted the message on his crown, kept him at Susa till his hair was grown again. When that time was come, he dispatched him to Miletus without any other instructions, than that, upon his arrival, he should desire Aristagoras to take off his hair and look upon his head; on which, as I said before, characters were impressed, soliciting him to a defection. Histiaëus took this resolution, because he looked upon his residence at Susa as a great misfortune, and entertained no small hope that he should be sent down to the coast, if Miletus should revolt; but if nothing new could be attempted there, he thought that he should never go to Miletus again.

XXXVI. And such were the considerations that prevailed with Histiaëus to dispatch this messenger to Miletus. All these things concurring at the same time, induced Aristagoras to consult with those of his faction, and communicate to them his own opinion and that of Histiaëus. They all ap-

<sup>r</sup> Aulus Gellius (Post. Attic. xvii. 9.) says, that Histiaëus chose a servant who had bad eyes, and told him that he would cure him, by shaving his head, &c. He then wrote the message on his head and sent him to Aristagoras, who

would effect his cure by shaving his head a second time. *Beloe.*

Polyænus (i. 24.) says, that his head was marked with these letters, Ἰστιαῖος Ἀριστάγορα Ἰωνίαν ἀπόστησον. *Larcher.*

plauded his sentiment, and encouraged him to revolt, except Hecataeus the historian, who at first dissuaded him from undertaking a war against the Persian king, enumerating the forces of Darius, and all the nations he commanded: but finding he could not prevail, he in the next place advised that care should be taken to render the Milesians masters of the sea; and said, that being fully convinced of the insufficiency of their forces, he could see no other way to effect this. Yet if they would seize the treasures which had been dedicated by Croesus the Lydian in the temple of the Branchidæ<sup>s</sup>, he had great hope they might acquire the dominion of the sea; and thus they would not only convert those riches to their own use, but hinder the enemy from plundering that treasure; which indeed was very considerable, as I have already related<sup>t</sup> in my first book. This opinion however did not prevail; but they notwithstanding took a resolution to revolt, and agreed to send one of the assembly in a ship to Myus, (where the forces that came from Naxus then were,) with instructions to endeavour to seize the leaders of the ships.

XXXVII. Iatragoras being charged with this commission, circumvented and seized Oliatus of Mylasa, the son of Ibanolis; Histiaeus the son of Tymnes, of Termera<sup>u</sup>; Coes the son of Erxandrus, to whom Darius had given Mitylene; Aristagoras of Cyme, the son of Heraclides; and many others. Thus Aristagoras openly revolted against Darius, and studied to annoy him by all the means he could invent. In the first place he abolished the tyranny, and established an equality in Miletus, to the end that the Milesians might more readily join with him in his defection. He effected the same afterwards throughout all Ionia; expelling some of their tyrants by force, and delivering up all those who were taken from on board the ships that had sailed with him to Naxus, to the cities to which they severally belonged, in order to gratify the people.

<sup>s</sup> Of this temple Pliny says, Posideum promontorium et oppidum, oraculum Branchidarum appellatum, nunc Didymæi Apollonis, a littore stadiis viginti, et inde centum octoginta Miletus Ionæ caput. (Hist. Nat. v. 29.) The name of Branchidæ was derived from a family which pretended to be descended from Branchus. The mother of Branchus, according to Varro, (Divin. reb. lib. apud Schol. Stat. Ther. viii. ver. 198.) when pregnant dreamt that the sun entered her throat and passed out by her womb. On account of this dream her son was called Branchus; (βράγχος signifying the throat.) Apollo became

enamoured of him, and gave him the gift of prophecy.

The temple appears to have been built some time before the Ionian colony; and it seems that Branchus in reality belonged to a family connected with the priesthood at Delphi, and that he went to Miletus and established an oracle there in imitation of that at Delphi. The temple was burnt by Xerxes, but afterwards rebuilt. See Vitruv. Præf. vii. p. 125. Larcher.

<sup>t</sup> See book i. ch. 50, 51, 92.

<sup>u</sup> Termera was on the confines of Caria and Lycia. Steph. Byzant.



XXXVIII. The Mityleneans had no sooner received Coes, than they brought him out, and stoned him to death; the Cymeans let their tyrant go, and so also did most of the others. Thus the tyrannies were everywhere suppressed. In conclusion, Aristagoras the Milesian having removed the tyrants, and admonished each of the cities to appoint magistrates<sup>x</sup>, went on an embassy to Sparta, because some powerful assistance was now become necessary to be procured<sup>y</sup>.

XXXIX. Anaxandrides, king of Sparta, was already dead, and his son Cleomenes had at that time possession of the kingdom; not on account of his virtues, but his birth. Anaxandrides had married his sister's daughter, and though she brought him no children, yet he loved her with great affection: in consequence of which the Ephori sent for him, and said, "If you neglect your nearest concerns we are not to imitate your example, and suffer the family of Eurys-thenes to be extinguished. Dismiss therefore the wife you now have, since she bears no children, and marry another; and by doing so you will please the Spartans." He answered, that he would not do either the one or the other: that they did not rightly advise him to abandon the wife he had, and to take another in her place, when she had committed no error; and therefore he would not obey.

XL. Upon this the Ephori and the senators, after they had consulted, proposed the following terms to Alexandrides: "Because we see you so attached to your present wife, be persuaded to do as we now advise, and do not oppose it, lest the Spartans should proceed to a more severe resolution against you. We do not require of you the dismissal of your present wife; pay her the same attention as you have always done, and marry another besides, who may bear you children." To this proposal Anaxandrides consenting, had two wives and two houses<sup>z</sup>, contrary to the custom of Sparta.

XLI. After a short time had intervened, the woman last married was brought to bed of this Cleomenes, and presented to the Spartans a presumptive heir of the kingdom. And it so happened<sup>a</sup>, that his first wife, who to that time had been barren, found herself with child; and though she was really so, yet the relations of his second began to raise a disturb-

<sup>x</sup> Στρατηγός does not here signify the leader of an army, but a magistrate, whose office was probably nearly the same as that of the Archons at Athens. Larcher.

<sup>y</sup> The construction of the Greek is, ἔδεε γὰρ δὴ συμμαχίης τινὸς μεγάλης (ὥστε) ἐξευρεθῆναι οἱ. There is a similar construction in the Medea of Euripides,

v. 1396. See Porson's note. Schweigh.

<sup>z</sup> He was the only Lacedæmonian who had two wives at the same time and two separate habitations. Pausan. Lacon. iii. 3.

<sup>a</sup> Συντυχίῃ τούτῃ χρησαμένη; this phrase is equivalent to κατὰ δαίμονα in i. 111. and iii. 153. Schweigh.



ance, and said, she vainly boasted, in order to impose a suppositious child upon them. While these continued their clamour, and the time of her delivery drew near, the Ephori from incredulity, sat around and watched the woman in her labour. She, however, brought forth Dorieus, and after him Leonidas, and at a third time Cleombrotus; though some say that Cleombrotus and Leonidas were twins. But the mother of Cleomenes, who was the second wife of Anaxandrides, and daughter to Prinetales, the son of Demarmenus, never bore any more children.

XLII. Cleomenes is reported to have not had the proper use of his faculties, and to have been somewhat insane<sup>b</sup>: but Dorieus far surpassed all the young men of his age, and was fully convinced that by his merit he should obtain the kingdom. But after the death of Anaxandrides, when he found that the Lacedæmonians had according to custom created his eldest brother king; full of discontent, and indignation to be commanded by Cleomenes, he demanded a draught of men, in order to establish a colony, and went away without asking the oracle of Delphi to what place he should go, or doing any of those things that are usual<sup>c</sup> on such occasions. But as he was very much grieved, he directed his ships to Lybia under the conduct of Theban pilots, and arriving at Cinyps<sup>d</sup>, settled on the bank of the river, in the most beautiful part of that country. But in the third year of his establishment, being ejected by the united force of the Macæ, Lybians<sup>e</sup>, and Carthaginians, he returned to Peloponnesus.

XLIII. There Antichares a citizen of Eleon<sup>f</sup>, pursuant to some oracles delivered to Laius<sup>g</sup>, admonished him to build the city of Heraclea in Sicily; assuring him that all the country of Eryx, having been conquered<sup>h</sup> by Hercules, belonged

<sup>b</sup> The word *ἄκρος* when put before several adjectives, somewhat diminishes the signification of the word, nearly as in Latin the particles *sub* and *semi*, when prefixed to nouns. *Schweigh.*

<sup>c</sup> See note on ch. 146. book i.

<sup>d</sup> The river Cinyps was mentioned in the 175th ch. of book iv, as rising in the country of the Macæ. D. Anville calls it Wadi-Quaham. *Larcher.*

<sup>e</sup> It would appear, as the text now stands, that the Macæ were not Lybians. *Larcher* leaves out the conjunction *καί*.

<sup>f</sup> Eleon is mentioned by Homer, *Iliad* ii. 500. and Strabo (ix. p. 622.) mentions a place of that name near Tanagra in Boeotia. *Wesseling.*

<sup>g</sup> This passage is thus translated by *Larcher* and *Schweighäuser*. For the construction see note on ch. 136. book iii.

<sup>h</sup> When Hercules reached the country of Eryx, in his tour of Sicily, Eryx, the son of Venus and Butes, the king of the country, challenged him to wrestle. Eryx laid his country as a wager, Hercules his oxen. Eryx at first disdained so unequal a stake, but when Hercules assured him that he should lose his immortality, if he lost them, Eryx was content, and engaged; he was overthrown and deprived of his country, which Hercules gave to the inhabitants, allowing them to take the fruits to their own use, till some one of his posterity came to demand it, which afterwards happened; for many ages after, Dorieus the Lacedæmonian, sailing into Sicily, recovered the country, and there built Heraclea. *Diodorus Sic.* iv. 23. *Larcher.*

to his posterity. When he heard this, he went to enquire of the oracle at Delphi, whether he should possess himself of the region to which he was preparing to go. The Pythian answered, he should; and Dorieus, taking with him the same fleet which he had led to Lybia, sailed past the coast of Italy.

XLIV. At that time, as the Sybarites say, they and their king Telys were preparing to make war against Crotona: which the Crotonians very much apprehending, implored the assistance of Dorieus; and having obtained their request, marched in conjunction with his forces directly to Sybaris, and took the city<sup>1</sup>. This the Sybarites affirm, concerning Dorieus and those who were with him. But the Crotonians deny that any foreigner took part with them in the war against Sybaris, except only Callias of Elis, an augur of the family of the Jamidæ<sup>k</sup>, who abandoned Telys king of the Sybarites, and deserted to their side, because he found the sacrifices inauspicious which he offered for the success of the expedition against Crotona. This the Crotonians say.

XLV. Each side, to confirm their assertion, bring the following testimonies. The Sybarites on their part shew a sacred enclosure, and a temple near the Crastis<sup>l</sup> which is occasionally dry, which Dorieus dedicated to Minerva, surnamed Crastian, after having assisted in taking Sybaris; alledging, for a farther and greater proof, that he was killed there, because he had acted contrary to the admonition of the oracle. For if he had not at all transgressed, but had done that for which he was sent, he might have taken and possessed the country of Eryx, and escaped that destruction which fell upon himself and his army. On the other hand, the Crotonians shew selected portions of land, conferred upon Callias the Elean, in the territories of Crotona, and now possessed by his descendants; but nothing at all given to Dorieus and his posterity. Whereas doubtless, had he assisted them in the war of Sybaris, he should have been more amply rewarded than Callias. These are the

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus (xii. 9.) gives the following as the cause of the war. "Telys, a demagogue, had persuaded the Sybarites by his accusations to banish five hundred of the most powerful men, and to sell their effects by auction. The exiles retired to Crotona, whither Telys sent ambassadors to demand them, or to declare war in case of a refusal. The people were disposed to give them up, but Pythagoras persuaded them to protect them. Milo the wrestler led the troops of Crotona, routed the Sybarites, took their city, and reduced it to perfect solitude." *Larcher.*

<sup>k</sup> Jamus was the son of Apollo and Evadne, the daughter of Neptune and Pitane, who was the daughter of the Eurotas. Apollo gave the art of divination to Jamus and all his descendants, who were after him called Jamidæ. See the sixth Olympic of Pindar. *Larcher.*

<sup>l</sup> Παρὰ τὸν ἕηδον κράστιν. Near the dry Crastis. It was so named, because it was dry during part of the year.

So in Virgil, Georg. iii. ver. 151. "Et sicci ripa Tanagri." On which Servius has this note: "Sicci ad tempus æstatis relatum est; est enim hieme torrens." *Wesseling.*



testimonies produced on both sides; and every man has the liberty of adhering to that which he judges most probable.

**XLVI.** Dorieus had for associates in the conduct of his colony, Thessalus, Paræbates, Celes, and Euryleon, all Spartans; who, after their arrival with the whole armament in Sicily, were killed with him in an unsuccessful battle against the Phœnicians and Egestæans; Euryleon alone of the associates in conducting the colony survived this disaster, and having collected the shattered remains of their forces, possessed himself of Minoa, a colony of the Selinuntians, and assisted in liberating the Selinuntians from their monarch Pythagoras. But after he had removed him, he seized the tyranny of Selinus for himself; and possessed the monarchy for a short time; for the Selinuntians having risen up against him, killed him at the altar of the Forensian Jupiter, where he had taken sanctuary.

**XLVII.** Philippus of Crotona, the son of Butacides, accompanied Dorieus and perished with him. He was entered into a contract of marriage with the daughter of Telys the Sybarite, banished from Crotona, and disappointed of his wife, being sailed to Cyrene; from whence he parted to accompany Dorieus, with his ship and men, maintained at his own expence. He had been victorious in the Olympian exercises; and was the handsomest of the Greeks of his day; and on account of his beauty<sup>m</sup> he obtained from the Egestæans greater honors than any other person: for they erected a chapel to him as to a hero, over the place where he was buried, and appease him with sacrifices to this day.

**XLVIII.** Such was the end of Dorieus; who, if he could have endured the government of Cleomenes, and continued in Sparta, had doubtless been king of the Lacedæmonians. For after a short reign Cleomenes died, and left no male children, but one daughter, whose name was Gorgo<sup>n</sup>.

**XLIX.** During the reign of this Cleomenes, Aristagoras, tyrant of Miletus, arrived in Sparta, and going to confer with the king, carried with him, as the Lacedæmonians say, a tablet of brass<sup>o</sup>, on which a description of the whole earth, with all

<sup>m</sup> Eustathius (lib. iii. Iliad xx. ver. 41.) remarks, that beauty is a gift not to be despised, and quotes this account of the honors paid to Philip, in the very terms of Herodotus. *Larcher.*

<sup>n</sup> She married Leonidas, (vii. 239.) When this prince was departing for Thermopylæ, (Plutarch. Lac. Apophthegm. p. 225.) Gorgo asked him, what commands he had for her: "Marry," says he, "some worthy man, and become

"the mother of a valiant race." He, in fact, expected to perish. This princess was remarkable for her virtue, and was one of the women whom Plutarch proposed as a model to Eurydice. *Larcher.*

<sup>o</sup> This voyage of Aristagoras to Lacedæmon must have been B.C. 504. Geographical charts must have been rather common at that time, since Anaximander made one 71 years before. They were much more ancient in Egypt, and we



the seas and rivers, was engraved: and being come into the king's presence, spoke in these terms: "Wonder not, Cleomenes, at the pains I have taken to come hither; my present affairs are urgent. For that the posterity of the Ionians should be slaves instead of free, is a great disgrace and sorrow to us, and above all others to you, inasmuch as you are the leaders of Greece. I adjure you therefore, by the Grecian Gods, rescue the Ionians, and deliver your own blood from servitude. It is easy for you to effect these things. For the Barbarians are not valiant; whereas you have attained to the utmost height of military glory; their manner in war is this: they use a bow and a short lance, and engage in battle, dressed in a long vest<sup>p</sup>, and wearing a turban on the head, by which means they become an easy conquest. Besides, those who inhabit that part of the continent, possess greater riches in gold, silver, brass, magnificent apparel, horses, and slaves, than all the rest in conjunction. All these things you may enjoy if you will. Their countries are contiguous, as I shall shew you." Then pointing to the description of the earth, which he brought with him engraved on a plate; "Next to these Ionians," said he, "the Lydians inhabit a fertile country, abounding in silver: and on the confines of Lydia, these Phrygians are placed to the eastward, the richest in cattle, and in corn, of all I am acquainted with. Adjoining to these are the Cappadocians, by us called Syrians; and beyond them, the Cilicians, whose country extends to this sea in which the island of Cyprus is situate, and pays an annual tribute of five hundred talents to the king. Next to the Cilicians, are these Armenians, who possess great numbers of cattle; and after them the Matienians; beyond whose territories lies this province of Cissia, in which Susa is built upon the river Choaspes. In this place the great king resides, and his vast treasures are here deposited. If you take this city, you may boldly contend with Jupiter in wealth. But now it seems you must carry on war, for a country of small extent, narrow limits, and not so very fertile, with the Messenians, who are your equals in war; and the Arcadians and Argives: none of which nations have either gold or silver; the desire of which induces so many men to hazard their lives. But when an

may presume, that this is one of the things which the Greeks derived from that country. They were known there under the reign of Sesostriis, (Appollon. Rhod. iv. ver. 279. and Schol.) And also long before, since Joshua, (ch. xviii. ver. 4. and seq.) sent three men from every

tribe, to examine the land of promise, with order to describe what they saw in a book. The Hebrews must have learnt this science in Egypt. *Larcher.*

<sup>p</sup> 'Αναγυρίδες are very loose trowsers which reach quite down to the ancles. *Larcher.*

“ opportunity is offered to conquer all Asia with facility, will you prefer any thing else?” To this discourse of Aristagoras, Cleomenes answered, “ Milesian friend, I defer to let you know my resolution till three days are passed.”

L. On that day they got so far. When the day appointed for the answer was come, and they were both met at the appointed place, Cleomenes asked Aristagoras, in how many days one might travel from the coast of Ionia to the city where the king was? But though Aristagoras was in other things cunning, and had deceived him with much address, yet he made a slip in this. For designing to draw the Spartans into Asia, he ought to have abated something of the account: whereas he told him plainly, that the journey upwards would occupy three months. Which Cleomenes no sooner heard, than interrupting him from proceeding in his discourse concerning the way, he said, “ Milesian guest, depart out of Sparta before the setting of the sun; for you propose nothing to be listened to by the Spartans, since you wish to lead them a march of three months from the sea.” When he had spoken these words he went home.

LI. Aristagoras taking an olive-branch in his hand, went to the house of Cleomenes, and having entered in, as a suppliant<sup>p</sup>, besought Cleomenes to listen to him and to send away his little daughter Gorgo, who was then with him, being the only child he had, and about eight or nine years of age. But Cleomenes bid him say what he would, and not refrain for the sake of a child. So Aristagoras began with the promise of ten talents, in case Cleomenes would do as he desired; and receiving a denial, proceeded gradually in his offers, till he came to the sum of fifty talents; and then the girl cried out, “ Father, this stranger will corrupt you, unless you quickly depart.” Cleomenes, pleased with the admonition of the child, retired to another apartment; and Aristagoras was constrained to depart immediately from Sparta, and could not get an opportunity to inform him farther, concerning the way to the place of the king’s residence.

LII. This road is as follows. There are in every part very excellent inns<sup>q</sup>, and it passes through an inhabited and safe

<sup>p</sup> That is, went straight to the hearth, as suppliants constantly did. See note on book i. ch. 35.

<sup>q</sup> These *inns* we must consider as being much the same kind of establishment as the caravanserais of modern Persia; many of which, on the public roads, (as may be seen by the books of

Travels: see Chardin, Olearius, Le Brun, &c.) are *grand, commodious, and extensive*. Very possibly they might have been calculated to receive the monarch and his retinue, when the army was put in motion: and that they had their reference to war, as well as to civil purposes, may be collected from the



country. Twenty of these places of reception are found in Lydia and Phrygia, the distance is ninety-four parasangs and a half. After Phrygia, the river Halys is met with, at which there are gates, which it is absolutely necessary to pass through, and thus to cross the river: there is also a considerable fort there. Then entering into Cappadocia, and traversing that country, they find twenty-eight of those public stations, within the space of one hundred and four parasangs, before they arrive on the borders of Cilicia, where you will pass two gates and two guards, and cross the territories of Cilicia by a way of fifteen parasangs and a half, and meet with three several stations. A river called Euphrates separates Cilicia from Armenia<sup>r</sup>, and is not passable, except in boats. Armenia contains fifteen of these inns, with one fort, and fifty-six parasangs and a half in the way over. Four rivers run through this country, and men are necessitated to pass all these in boats. The first is the Tigris; the second and third<sup>s</sup> have the same name, though they are different rivers, flowing from different sources. For the first of these rises in Armenia, and the latter in the country of the Matiene. The fourth is called the Gyndes<sup>t</sup>, which was formerly cut by Cyrus into three hundred and sixty channels. After Armenia<sup>u</sup> you enter the land of Matiene<sup>x</sup>, in which there are four stations; and from thence to Cissia and the river Chaspes, eleven stations are found within the space of forty-two parasangs and a half. This river also is no otherwise passable than in boats, and the city of Susa is situate on it. All these stations are in number one hundred and ele-

space between them; which is calculated for the day's march of an army, but is too short for the journeys of travellers of any description; the slowest of whom, namely, those who travel in caravans, far outstrip an army. *Rennell*, p. 333.

<sup>r</sup> Cilicia by being extended to the *Euphrates*, is made to include the northern part of Syria; that is, the province of Cyrhestica. The *Chellians* mentioned in Judith (ch. ii. ver. 21.) appear to be the people of the district which includes the town of Killis, not far from Aleppo: whence it may be suspected that the Cilicia of Herodotus included this province. *Rennell*, p. 327.

<sup>s</sup> The second is the greater *Zab*; the *Zabatus* of Xenophon; and the third is the lesser *Zab*, which joins the Tigris near the city of Senn, the *Cene* of Xenophon. *Rennell*, p. 327.

<sup>t</sup> See *Clio*, c. 189. This river is un-

questionably intended for the *Diala* of modern geography. *Rennell*, *ibid*.

<sup>u</sup> The extension of Armenia to the *Diala*, is quite incorrect, and even contradictory; as he knew the position of Assyria, and reckons Babylon a part of it. *Rennell*, p. 328.

<sup>x</sup> By Matiene, is intended in this place, the country between *Assyria* and *Susiana*; and as that was known in the times of Xenophon and Alexander, by the name of *Sittacene*, (a province of Babylonia,) this should be the true reading, and not Matiene, which Herodotus places between Media Major, and Armenia; or more properly speaking, it was a province of Media itself. Matiene could only lie above the mountains of Zagros; but the royal road to Susa, lay below them, through Assyria and Babylonia. *Ibid*.



ven<sup>y</sup>. The inns therefore from Sardis to Susa are so many.

LIII. Now if the royal road has been correctly measured by parasangs, and if every parasang equals thirty stades, as the truth is, we shall find that the four hundred and fifty parasangs from Sardis to the Memnonian palace, amount to thirteen thousand five hundred stades: and he who travels one hundred and fifty stades every day, must spend ninety days exactly, in performing the whole journey.

LIV. So that Aristagoras the Milesian said right, when he told Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian, that three months would be requisite to arrive at the place where the king was. But if any man should desire a more complete account, I will satisfy him: for adding the measure of the way from Ephesus to Sardis to the preceding computation, the whole number of stades from the Grecian sea to the Memnonian<sup>z</sup> city of Susa, will be fourteen thousand and forty; because five hundred and forty stades are accounted from Ephesus to Sardis. And thus three days' journey are to be added to that of three months.

LV. Aristagoras being driven from Sparta, went to Athens; which city had been delivered from tyrants in this manner. After Aristogiton and Harmodius<sup>a</sup>, originally descended from the Gephyræans, had killed Hipparchus<sup>b</sup> the son of Pisis-

<sup>y</sup> According to the account of Herodotus,

	Stathmi.	Parasangs.
In Lydia and Phrygia are.....	20.....	94 $\frac{1}{2}$
In Cappadocia.....	28.....	104
In Cilicia.....	3.....	15 $\frac{1}{2}$
In Armenia.....	15.....	56 $\frac{1}{2}$
In Matiene.....	4	
In Cissia.....	11.....	42 $\frac{1}{2}$
	<hr/> 81	<hr/> 313

Here is evidently some mistake, which cannot be in the sum given by Herodotus, but is in the detail, (owing, we must suppose, to an accident having happened to the original MS.) For a full account see Rennell's 13th section.

<sup>z</sup> It is said that Susa was built by Tithonus, the father of Memnon. Strabo, xv. p. 1058.

<sup>a</sup> According to Thucydides, (vi. 54.) Aristogiton, a man of middle rank, loved Harmodius, who was in the bloom of life. Hipparchus having conceived a passion for Harmodius, endeavoured to obtain his good graces. Harmodius discovered it to his friend, and they determined to kill the tyrants. On the morning on which they intended to execute their project, Hippias was seen

talking to one of the conspirators. As they were afraid that their plot was discovered, they immediately killed Hipparchus, and Hippias escaped. Larcher has a long note on Aristogiton and Harmodius, in which he has collected almost every particular that is known of them.

<sup>b</sup> According to the common opinion, Hipparchus possessed the tyranny, when he was killed. This opinion is contradicted by Thucydides, book vi. 54, and seq. who proves that Hippias was the

tratus and brother to Hippias, the Athenians during the space of four years<sup>c</sup> were no less oppressed by tyranny than before.

LVI. Hipparchus had seen his own destruction manifestly foretold in the following dream, in the night preceding the Panathenæan<sup>d</sup> festival; a tall and handsome man seemed to stand by him, and pronounce these enigmatical words<sup>e</sup>:

Lion, with courage bear the greatest ill,  
For vengeance always reaches the unjust.

At break of day he publicly acquainted the diviners with his dream; and after having made the proper sacrifices to avert the effect<sup>f</sup>, he conducted that procession in which he perished.

LVII. The Gephyræans, from whom those who killed Hipparchus were descended, are originally sprung from Eretria, as they themselves say; but, as I find by frequent enquiry, they are the posterity of those Phœnicians, who arriving in Boeotia with Cadmus, were appointed by lot to inhabit the district of Tanagra. The Cadmeans were first expelled from thence by the Argives; and these Gephyræans being afterwards ejected by the Boeotians, betook themselves to Athens; and the Athenians admitted them into the number of their citizens, on certain trifling conditions which are not worth mentioning.

LVIII. These Phœnicians who came with Cadmus, from whom the Gephyræans are descended, when they settled in this country, introduced among the Greeks many other things relating to knowledge, and more particularly letters<sup>g</sup>,

eldest. Plato (in Hipparch. tom. ii. p. 228.) says that Hipparchus was the eldest. Larcher.

<sup>c</sup> Plato (in Hipparch. tom. ii. p. 229.) says only three; but Thucydides (vi. 59.) says that he was obliged to retire in the fourth.

<sup>d</sup> This festival was in honour of Minerva, the protectress of Athens. It was first instituted by Erichthonius or Orpheus, and called *Ἀθήναια*, but afterwards renewed and amplified by Theseus, when he collected the nation into one city, and called *Παναθήναια*. There were the *greater*, which were celebrated once in five years, beginning upon the twenty-second of Hecatombæon, and the *lesser* Panathenæa, which were celebrated on the fourteenth of the same month, every year. Some say they were celebrated on the twentieth or twenty-first of Thargelion, others that they were only celebrated every third

year. For a description of the games, processions, &c. see Potter's Greece, book ii. ch. 21.

<sup>e</sup> Remark in the first verse the words *Τλῆθι, ἀτλητα, τετληότι*. These Grotius has preserved in his translation:

“Fortiter hæc leo fer, quamvis fera,  
“quando ferendum est  
“Injustos homines sero, cito, pœna  
“sequetur.”

<sup>f</sup> *Ἀπειπάμενος τὴν ὄψιν*. The ancients supposed that the effects of a dream might be averted by sacrifices to Gods, named *Ἀποτρόποι*, *Averrunctores*, or simply by relating them to the sun. See the Electra of Sophocles, ver. 424, and the Scholiast. Larcher.

<sup>g</sup> For information on this subject see Bochart and Walton's Prolegomena to the Polyglott; and Bouhier's Dissertation de priscis Græcorum et Latinorum literis: and also Larcher's note.



which, as I conceive, were not known among the Grecians before that time. The first letters they used were entirely Phœnician; but in succeeding ages, together with the sound, they also altered<sup>h</sup> the form of the letters: and the Ionians who inhabited the greatest part of the country round about, having learnt these letters from the Phœnicians, made use of them with some small alteration, and gave out that they ought to go under the name of Phœnician letters, as reason required, because they had been introduced by the Phœnicians. Besides, the Ionians, from ancient time, call their books diphtheræ<sup>i</sup>, because at some former time when the byblus was rare, they used the skins of goats and sheep; and even at the present day many of the Barbarians write on such skins.

LIX. And I myself have seen in the temple of Ismenian Apollo at Thèbes in Bœotia some Cadmean letters engraved on certain tripods, for the most part like the Ionian character. One of these inscriptions runs thus:

Amphytrion dedicated me after his return<sup>k</sup> from the Teleboæ.

This must have been about the time of Laius<sup>l</sup> the son of Labdacus, whose father Polydorus was son to Cadmus.

LX. Another tripod has these words in hexameter verses:

To thee<sup>m</sup> Apollo, by the conquering hand  
Of Scæus offer'd, a rich gift I stand.

Scæus the son of Hippocoon, (if indeed it was he who dedicated this tripod, and not another person of the same name,) must have lived about the time of Œdipus<sup>n</sup> the son of Laius.

LXI. A third tripod is inscribed thus, in hexameters likewise:

To thee bright Phœbus, truly-aiming God!  
To thee, Laodamus this offering made.

During the reign of this monarch Laodamus the son of Eteocles, the Cadmeans were expelled by the Argives, and re-

<sup>h</sup> The Greeks first wrote in the same manner as the Hebrews and Chaldees, from right to left; they afterwards wrote alternately from left to right, and then from right to left, which was called *βοστροφηδόν*. *Larcher*.

<sup>i</sup> The Persians name a record or writing, *Dufter*. Is it not probable that the Ionians borrowed the term from the Persians, together with the use of the skin itself, the name of which may perhaps be rendered *parchment*? *Rennell*, p. 247.

*Diodorus Siculus* (ii. 32.) says, that

the Persians were obliged by law to write their history on skins.

<sup>k</sup> After the victory which he had obtained over that people. *Larcher*.

<sup>l</sup> Amphytrion was the cotemporary of Laius, since he was expiated of a murder by Creon, the brother-in-law of that prince.

<sup>m</sup> The Dorians used *τίβι* for σοί, tibi. *Hesychius*.

<sup>n</sup> Hercules, who was cotemporary with Œdipus, killed Scæus and his father. (*Apollod. Biblioth. iii. 10.*)

tired to the Encheleæ°. The Gephyræans, who were then left, were afterwards compelled by the Bœotians<sup>p</sup> to fly to Athens<sup>q</sup>; and here they built temples, which the rest of the Athenians do not participate in; and also established other things distinct from the other temples; more particularly the temple and mysteries of the Achæan Ceres.

LXII. And thus having related the dream of Hipparchus, with the original of the Gephyræans, from whom those who killed him were descended, it is proper now to resume the account I originally set out to relate, and shew in what manner the Athenians were delivered from tyrants.

While Hippias was tyrant and bitterly harassing the Athenians for the death of Hipparchus, the Alcmaeonidæ being of Athenian extraction, and at that time banished by the Pisistratidæ, made great efforts, in conjunction with other exiles, to obtain their return: and though their endeavours had been unsuccessful, yet still continuing to apply themselves with diligence to procure their own re-establishment, with the liberty of Athens, they fortified Lipsydrum<sup>r</sup>, which is above Pæonia; and there practising every scheme against the Pisistratidæ undertook by a contract, made with the Amphictyons<sup>s</sup>, to build the temple which now is seen at Delphi<sup>t</sup>.

° The Cadmeans and Encheleans of Herodotus are the Thebans and Illyrians of Pausanias. *Larcher*.

<sup>p</sup> The preposition *ὑπὸ* joined to a genitive case, signifies the cause; as in the common expression *ὑπὸ δέους*: see v. 10, 2. iv. 7, 16. We must therefore conclude that these were compelled to retire by the Bœotians, that they retired on account of, through fear of the Bœotians: (*præ Bæotis, propter Bæotos*, i. e. *metu Bæotorum*;) in which manner *Larcher* has translated it, "les Bœotiens les obligèrent par la suite à se retirer à Athènes." So *φείγην ὑπὸ τινος*. Herodotus has more clearly explained his meaning in ch. 57, 8. *ὑπολιφθέντες* ought not to be translated *derelicti* with Gronovius, nor with *Larcher*, "on les laissa alors tranquilles:" but simply left, who remained in their settlement and were not expelled by the Argives. *Schueigh*.

<sup>q</sup> They were permitted to establish themselves on the borders of the Cephissus, which separates Attica, properly so called, from Eleusis. There they built a bridge, in order to have a free communication. I am of opinion that bridges, *γέφυραι*, took their name from this people. The author of the *Etymologicum Magnum* supposes that the people were called Gephyræans,

from this bridge; but it is very certain that they bore this name before they settled in Attica. *Larcher*.

<sup>r</sup> Lipsydrum was a place in Attica, above Pæonia and mount Parnes. The Pæonidæ, (*Harpocrat. voc. Παυονιδῆς*;) belonged to the tribe Leontis, and doubtless occupied this borough Pæonia. *Larcher*.

<sup>s</sup> This council was composed of deputies from the most powerful people of Greece. They assembled most commonly at Thermopylæ, sometimes called Pylæ, whence they obtained the name of *Πυληγόραι*; and sometimes at Delphi. They met twice in the year. It appears to have been originally formed to protect the temple of Delphi, and to administer justice to the multitudes that flocked to his shrine. For a complete account of this council, see the dissertation prefixed to Leland's *Life of Philip*.

<sup>t</sup> The temple of Delphi was originally no more than a chapel made of the branches of laurel growing near the temple. A man named Pteras of Delphi afterwards built it of more solid materials: it was then constructed of brass; and the fourth time it was built of stone. Pausan, *Phocic. x. 5*. See also book ii. ch. 180.



These persons being descended of illustrious ancestors, and very rich, erected a fabric, much more magnificent than the model; and among other things, when they had agreed to build the temple of the stone of Porus<sup>u</sup>, they constructed the front of Parian marble.

LXIII. These men, as the Athenians relate, when at Delphi, prevailed with the Pythian by a sum of money to propose to all the Spartans who should come thither to consult the oracle, either on their own account, or that of the public, to deliver Athens from servitude; and that the Lacedæmonians, when the same thing was always proposed, sent Anchimolius the son of Aster, an eminent citizen, with an army to Athens, in order to expel the Pisistratidæ, though they were particularly united to them by the ties of hospitality, for they considered the commands of the God more important than all human obligations. These forces they sent by sea, and Anchimolius having touched at Phalerum, landed his army. But the Pisistratidæ, who had timely notice of this expedition, demanded succour of the Thessalians, their confederates; which they granted, and unanimously resolved to send a thousand horse<sup>x</sup> to their assistance, under the conduct of their king Cineas, a native of Conium<sup>y</sup>. Having received this reinforcement, the Pisistratidæ cleared the plains of the Phalerum, and rendered the country practicable for horse; which when they had done, they sent the cavalry against the camp of the enemy. They suddenly fell upon them, and killed great numbers, with their general Anchimolius, and forced the rest to betake themselves to their ships. Thus the first Lacedæmonian expedition got off, and the tomb of Anchimolius is at Alopecæ<sup>z</sup> of Attica, near the temple of Hercules in Cynosarges<sup>a</sup>.

LXIV. But the Lacedæmonians sent afterwards a greater armament to Athens, by land, and not by sea, under the conduct of their king Cleomenes, the son of Anaxandrides. At their entrance into Attica, the Thessalian cavalry first en-

<sup>u</sup> This stone resembled the Parian marble in colour and hardness, but was less ponderous, according to Theophrastus (de Lapid. p. 254.) and Pliny, (Hist. Nat. xxxvi. 17.) This marble, which we are unacquainted with at present, was obtained from Elis. The excellence of the Parian marble is well known. *Larcher*.

<sup>x</sup> The cavalry of Thessaly was very celebrated. See book vii. 196; and Theocrit. Idyll. xviii. ver. 30. *Larcher*.

<sup>y</sup> The way in which this is expressed would seem to imply that he was born

out of Thessaly, and therefore there is no reason why we should not suppose with *Larcher*, that he was born in Conium of Phrygia, especially as it is not incredible that some connexion existed between the Phrygians and Thessalians. *Schweigh*.

<sup>z</sup> This place belonged to the tribe Antiochis.

<sup>a</sup> This was a place in the suburbs near the Lycæum; so called from a white or swift dog, in Greek, κύων άργός, which, when Diomus was sacrificing to Hercules, snatched away part of the victim.

gaged with them, and was soon defeated<sup>b</sup>, with the loss of more than forty of their men. The survivors immediately departed straight towards Thessaly. Cleomenes, accompanied by those Athenians who were desirous to recover their liberty, marched directly to the city, and besieged the tyrants in the Pelasgian<sup>c</sup> citadel, to which they had been obliged to retire.

LXV. Yet the Lacedæmonians could not by any means have reduced the enemy, both because they themselves were not prepared to carry on a long siege, and the Pisistratidæ were abundantly provided with all kind of provisions; but must have been necessitated in a few days to march away to Sparta, if an accident had not happened, which was no less unfortunate to the one party, than advantageous to the other. For the children of the Pisistratidæ fell into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, as some persons were endeavouring to convey them privately out of the country. This event threw their affairs into utter confusion, and to redeem their children they yielded to whatever the Athenians would prescribe, and obliged themselves to depart out of Attica in five days. They afterwards retired to Sigeum<sup>d</sup>, upon the river Scamander, having possessed the dominion of Athens thirty-six years. They were Pyliaus by origin, and of the family of Neleus, and were of the same extraction with Codrus and Melanthus, who, though foreigners, had formerly obtained the kingdom of Athens<sup>e</sup>. And for this reason Hippocrates, the father of Pisistratus, gave that name to his son, in memory of Pisistratus the son of Nestor. Thus the Athenians were delivered from their tyrants; and what memorable things they either did or suffered, before the Ionians revolted from Darius, and Aristagoras of Miletus came to desire their assistance, I shall now relate.

<sup>b</sup> Cleomenes threw trees over the plain, and made it impracticable for cavalry. Frontinus Stratag. ii. 2. sect. 9. Aristophanes (Lysistrat. v. 1149.) alludes to this defeat. *Larcher*.

<sup>c</sup> See book vi. c. 137.

<sup>d</sup> See ch. 94. and also Thucyd. vi. 59.

<sup>e</sup> Athens appears always to have been hospitable to the unfortunate, and to have afforded refuge to those ancient possessors of the Peloponnese, who were compelled to emigrate at the return of the Heracleids. Among many others, Melanthus king of Pylus resorted thither. The charity was not unproductive of reciprocal benefit. For the Athenians were then engaged in a war with the

Boeotians, and the two armies meeting, the Boeotian king proposed to decide the matter by single combat between himself and Thymœtes, then king of Athens. Thymœtes, probably knowing himself inferior in bodily strength and agility, declined the challenge. But the temper of the times was favourable to that mode of deciding political controversies. Melanthus, therefore, the Messenian prince, who had his fortune to seek, offered himself for the champion of the Athenians, and was accepted: he was victorious, and the sceptre of Athens was his reward. Thymœtes was deposed, and with him ended the succession of the family of Theseus. *Mitford*, ch. v. 1.



LXVI. Athens, although before powerful, became still more so, after it had been delivered from its tyrants. Two of the citizens obtained great power. One of these was Clisthenes, of the family of the Alcmaeonidæ, and the person, if we may believe common fame, who prevailed with the Pythian to do as I have mentioned. The other was Isagoras the son of Tisander, of an illustrious family, but from what original descended I am not able to discover; only this I know, that the whole race offers sacrifices to Jupiter of Caria<sup>f</sup>. In their contests for superiority, Clisthenes, being surpassed by his rival, gained over the people to his side, and afterwards formed the Athenians into ten tribes, which to that time had been no more than four<sup>g</sup>, changing the names they had from Geleon, Ægicores, Argadeus, and Hoples, sons of Ion, into other appellations derived from heroes who were all natives of the country, except Ajax<sup>h</sup> only, whose name he admitted as a near neighbour and ally.

LXVII. This he did, as I conjecture, in imitation of Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, his grandfather by the mother; who, when he made war against the Argives, in the first place put an end to the games, in which the Rhapsodists<sup>i</sup> disputed the

<sup>f</sup> The Carians were extremely despised, and were regarded as slaves, because they were the first who let out troops for hire; for which reason they were exposed to the greatest dangers. They had a temple common to themselves, with the Lydians and Mysians, (i. 171.) This was called the temple of the Carian Jupiter. Those who sacrificed to him acknowledged themselves to have been originally Carian. *Larcher*.

<sup>g</sup> The names of the four ancient tribes varied at different times; and it is certain that they existed before the sons of Ion were born. Clisthenes divided them into ten, lest one tribe should unite with another, and thus render any contest equal. *Larcher*.

<sup>h</sup> From him the tribe Æantis took its name. He had been king of Salamis. *Larcher*.

<sup>i</sup> This word is compounded of ῥάπρω, *I sew*, or ῥάβδος, *a rod or branch*, and ᾠδή, *a song*, &c. According to the first derivation, it signifies a poet, the author of various songs or poems which are connected together and make one poem, the different parts of which may be detached and separately recited. According to the second, it signifies a singer, who, holding in his hand a branch of laurel, sings his own poetry or that of some celebrated poet.

Hesiod inclines to the first etymology, (Scholiast. ad Pind. Nem. ii. v. 1.) Homer, Hesiod, &c. were Rhapsodists in this sense; they composed their poems in different books and songs, which united together made one whole. The ancient poets went from country to country, and from town to town, to instruct and amuse the people, by reciting their verses. The people in return paid them great honours, and their liberality supplied them with abundant means of subsistence. The oldest Rhapsodist we know is Phemius, whom his disciple Homer immortalizes in his *Odyssey*. They most probably, when they sang their own verses, carried in their hands a branch of laurel, especially if unaccompanied by any instrument. The Rhapsodists of the second kind were invited to feasts and public sacrifices, to sing the poems of Orpheus, Musæus, Hesiod, &c. and particularly of Homer. These were contented with reciting the compositions of others, and certainly carried a laurel branch in their hands. They were also called Homeridæ, or Homeristæ, because they generally recited verses from Homer. They used to sit on a stage and accompany themselves with the cithara or some other instrument, and a crown of gold was given them as a recompence. In process of

prize in singing the verses of Homer, because the Argives and Argos are celebrated in almost every part; and also became very desirous to expel from his country Adrastus the son of Talaus, because he was an Argive. For a chapel of Adrastus stood in the forum of Sicyon, which now remains. He therefore went to Delphi, and having consulted the oracle, received this answer from the Pythian, "That Adrastus indeed had been king of the Sicyonians, whereas he "was a murderer<sup>k</sup>." Clisthenes, finding the god would not permit him, returned home and bent his thoughts to contrive how Adrastus might of himself depart. When he thought he had found the right way, he sent to the Thebans of Bœotia, to acquaint them that he wished to introduce into Sicyon Melanippus<sup>l</sup> the son of Astacus; this the Thebans granted, and Clisthenes marked out an inclosure in the prytaneum, and placed it there in the strongest part. This he did, for I must not omit the true motive, because Melanippus had been the greatest of all the enemies of Adrastus; having killed his brother Mecisteus, and his son-in-law Tydeus. After Clisthenes had erected this temple, he abolished the sacrifices and festivals of Adrastus, and instituted the same rites to Melanippus as the Sicyonians had been accustomed to perform in a magnificent manner to the other. For Polybus, who was master of Sicyon, leaving no male line, gave that country to Adrastus the son of his daughter. The Sicyonians, among other honours paid to him, used to celebrate his misfortunes with tragic dances<sup>m</sup>, honouring Adrastus, and not Bacchus, to that time. But Clisthenes transferred these dances to the worship of Bacchus, and all the other ceremonies to Melanippus.

LXVIII. He also changed the names of the Dorian tribes, that the Sicyonian might not be the same as the Argive. And in this he very much derided the Sicyonians. For he denominated the other tribes from words signifying swine and asses, with the addition of the terminations only; but distinguished his own by a name derived from his dominion. So that these were called Archelai, while the rest went under the names of Hyatæ, Oneatæ, and Chœreatæ<sup>n</sup>.

time the word became a term of contempt. *Larcher*.

<sup>k</sup> *Λευσθήρ*. This Hesychius takes in an active sense; *φονεὺς λίθοις ἀναιρῶν*.

<sup>l</sup> When the Argives attacked Thebes, Melanippus killed Tydeus, and Mecisteus the brother of Adrastus, and was himself killed by the hands of Amphiraus. Pausan. ix. 18.

<sup>m</sup> It might be inferred from hence, that Thespis was not the inventor of tra-

gedy. Themistius (Orat. xxvii. p. 337.) ascribes that honour to the Sicyonians. As Herodotus lived in a time in which tragedy had attained the greatest perfection, he gives the name of tragic chorusses to these chorusses, in honour of Adrastus, although they did not at that time exist. *Larcher*.

<sup>n</sup> Hyatæ is from *ὕς*, a sow; Oneatæ from *ὄνος*, an ass; Chœreatæ from *Χοῖρος*, a pig.



The Sicyonian tribes were called by these names in the time of Clisthenes, and after his death, during the space of sixty years; when by common consent they were changed into those of Hylleans, Pamphylians, and Dymanatæ; and a fourth tribe was added, to which they gave the name of Ægialean, from Ægialeus<sup>o</sup> the son of Adrastus.

LXIX. These things were done by Clisthenes of Sicyon; and the Athenian Clisthenes, who was son to the daughter of the Sicyonian, and had his name from him, seems to me to have imitated him, from a contempt of the Ionians, that they might not go under the same denomination with the tribes of Athens. For when he had prevailed with the people, who had been before repulsed from every privilege, to side with him, he changed the names of the tribes, and augmented their number; he established ten phylarchi instead of four, and divided the boroughs into ten tribes<sup>p</sup>; and thus having gained the people, he became much superior to his adversaries<sup>q</sup>.

LXX. Isagoras being overcome in his turn, applied himself for succour to Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian, who from the time he had besieged the Pisistratidæ, was engaged with him in a friendship of mutual hospitality, and besides was suspected to have paid his wife too frequent visits. In the first place, therefore, Cleomenes sent a herald to Athens, to endeavour to expel Clisthenes, with many other Athenians, pretending that they were polluted<sup>r</sup>. This crime was laid to their charge by the advice of Isagoras. For the Alcmeonidæ, and those of their party, were accused of the following murder, in which Isagoras and his friends were no way concerned.

LXXI. The name Enagees was given to those Athenians on the following occasion<sup>s</sup>. Cylon, an Athenian, having been

<sup>o</sup> The ancient name of Sicyon was Ægialus, (Strabo viii. p. 587.) which may probably have been the origin of the name. Sicyon appears to have been so called, because it was built on the sea-coast. *Larcher*.

<sup>p</sup> These were called Cecropis, Erechtheis, Pandionis, Ægeis, Acamantis, Leontis, Hippothoontis, Anthiochus, Æeantis, and Æneis. To these were afterwards added Ptolemais, or Antigoneis, and Attalis, or Demetrius. For a full account see Potter's Arch. Græc. book i. 9.

<sup>q</sup> Clisthenes and Isagoras had no intention of becoming tyrants, and were united to expel the Pisistratidæ from Athens; but they were not at all the more harmonious on that account. The

first desired to establish a democracy, and for that purpose gave the people more authority, by distributing them into a greater number of tribes, making them by that means less easy to be gained. Isagoras, on the contrary, wished to establish an aristocracy; and as he could not possibly succeed in his views, unless by force, he therefore invited the Lacedæmonians to assist him. *Larcher*.

<sup>r</sup> This same pollution was used as a pretext for the expulsion of Pericles at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war. See Thucyd. i. 126 and 127. Where the same account of the origin of the pollution is given.

<sup>s</sup> Cylon belonged to one of the most illustrious families of Athens. He mar-

victorious in the Olympian exercises, turned his ambition<sup>t</sup> to the tyranny; and to that end, having attached to himself a society of young men about his own age, endeavoured to seize the Acropolis, and not being able to make himself master of it, he took his seat as a suppliant at the image of the goddess. From that place they were taken by the prytanes of the Naucrari<sup>u</sup>, who had then the power in Athens, under a promise that their lives should be spared. But the Alcmaeonidæ were accused of having put them all to death. These things were done before the time of Pisistratus.

LXXII. When Cleomenes had sent a herald to expel Clisthenes and those who were polluted, Clisthenes himself retired. Nevertheless Cleomenes came to Athens with a small force, and upon his arrival expelled, as polluted, seven hundred Athenian families, at the instigation of Isagoras. When he had done this, he attempted to dissolve the council, and to put the power into the hands of three hundred partizans of Isagoras. But finding the council resolved to oppose his design, and not to obey, he and Isagoras, with those of his faction, seized the citadel, where they were besieged during two days by the rest of the Athenians, who adhered to the council. On the third day they surrendered, on condition that all the Lacedæmonians in the place might depart out of the country. And thus an omen<sup>v</sup> which Cleo-

ried a daughter of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara, Thucyd. i. 126.) Relying on an ambiguous oracle, he attempted to seize the citadel of Athens, with the assistance of some troops which his father-in-law sent him. It appears strange that he had a statue of brass erected to him within the citadel. Pausanias (Attic. siv. i. 28.) supposes that was in honour of his beauty, and his victory at the Olympic games, which he obtained in the 35th Olympiad. *Larcher.*

<sup>t</sup> Ἐκόμῃσε. The ancient Greeks let their hair grow, and prided themselves in having long hair. Hence, according to Eustathius, (ad Iliad. ii. v. 15.) the word κομᾶν was applied to those who were vain of any success, or raised their ambition to any thing, &c. *Larcher.*

<sup>u</sup> The magistrates of Athens were the Archons, the senate of the Areopagus, and the senate of five hundred. When Athens, in the time of the republic, was divided into four tribes, one hundred were chosen by lot from each tribe, so that the senate consisted of four hundred. When they were divided into ten, fifty were taken from each, and the senate consisted of five hundred. The

Athenian year, which was a lunar year, contained 354 days; each of the ten tribes governed thirty-five days, and the remaining four days belonged to those four tribes which were appointed by lot to govern first. The governing tribe were the Prytanes. These fifty Prytanes were divided into five classes of ten, each of which classes governed for seven days, and during that time the ten were called Proëdri. A new president to these Proëdri was chosen every day. The Δῆμοι, (Jul. Polluc. Onomast. viii. 9.) into which the tribes were divided, were anciently called Naucrariæ, and their magistrates were then called Naucleri, or according to others, Naucrari. Some are of opinion, that by Naucrari we must understand the Athenians in general, and by Prytanes, their magistrates or Archons. The above is extracted from Larcher's elaborate note: which see, for a more complete account. See also Potter's Arch. Græc. book i. ch. 13.

<sup>v</sup> ὄμην is the same as the Latin word *omen*. *Omen* (says Festus) *quasi oremen, quia fit ab ore*. The ancients used carefully to observe the words of people who



menes had received, was ratified; for when he had gone up to the Acropolis to take possession of it, he wished to enter the sanctuary of the goddess to consult her; but the priestess rising from her seat before he had passed the door, "Lacedæmonian stranger!" said she, "return; and come not into this sacred place, for it is not lawful for any Dorian to enter here." "Woman," replied Cleomenes, "I am not a Dorian, but an Achaian." He, however, without regarding the omen, made the attempt, and was a second time\* forced to retire with the Lacedæmonians. The Athenians put the rest in chains, in order to punish them with death. Among these was Timesitheus of Delphi, of whose strength and courageous spirit† I could give some surprising instances. These the Athenians put to death in prison.

LXXIII. After which the Athenians, not doubting that they should be necessitated to make war against the Lacedæmonians, recalled Clisthenes, with the seven hundred families that had been banished by Cleomenes, and sent an embassy to Sardis, in order to contract a confederacy with the Persians. When these ambassadors arrived, and had spoken according to their instructions, Artaphernes the son of Hystaspes, governor of Sardis, asked who the Athenians were, and what part of the world they inhabited, that they should desire to make an alliance with the Persians? And after he had informed himself of these particulars, he briefly answered, that if they would acknowledge the king by presenting him with earth and water, he would make an alliance with them; if not, he commanded them to depart. Upon this proposal the ambassadors consulted together, and being very desirous to conclude the alliance, made answer that they would comply; for which they were highly blamed at their return.

LXXIV. In the mean time Cleomenes thinking that the Athenians had highly insulted him both in their words and actions, assembled an army from all parts of the Peloponnesus, without discovering the design he had to revenge himself upon the people of Athens, and to put the power into the hands of Isagoras, who went with him out of the citadel. Thus having collected great forces, he marched into the territories of Eleusis; while the Bœotians, as had been concerted, possessed themselves of Ænoe and Hysia<sup>z</sup>, boroughs at the

met them, in order to draw from them a good or bad presage. Κληδών or κληδών is the same as φήμη. Larcher.

\* See ch. 64 and 65. This is alluded to by Aristophanes, Lys. v. 273 et seq.

† There is a great difference between

λήμα and λήμμα. Λήμα comes from λῶ, θέλω, θελήσω; λήμμα from λήβω, for λαμβάνω. The first word signifies strength of mind, boldness of spirit; λήμμα, gain, &c. Larcher.

<sup>z</sup> Larcher and Wesseling wish to read

extremity of Attica, and the Chalcideans ravaged other parts of the country. The Athenians, though oppressed by these attacks on all sides, intended afterwards to remember the Bœotians and Chalcideans; and prepared themselves for battle, opposite the Peloponnesians, who had invaded Eleusis.

LXXV. When the two armies were ready to engage, the Corinthians, who had consulted together, being convinced their cause was unjust, drew off their forces and marched away; Demaratus the other Spartan king, and son of Ariston, afterwards did the same. He led out the Lacedæmonians in conjunction with Cleomenes, and never before had any difference with him. But on occasion of this division, a law was made in Sparta, that the two kings should not for the future march out together at the head of their armies, as they had done to that time; and that one of the Tyndaridæ<sup>a</sup> should remain with the king, who stayed at home; for both these also had been formerly accustomed to accompany the army, as auxiliaries. When the rest of the confederates perceived that the Lacedæmonian kings could not agree, and that the Corinthians had quitted their post, they drew off their forces likewise.

LXXVI. And this was the fourth<sup>b</sup> expedition the Dorians<sup>c</sup> made into Attica. Twice they entered, in order to make war; and twice for the good of the Athenian people. That may be rightly called the first, when they settled a colony in Megara, during the reign of Codrus<sup>d</sup> king of Athens: they arrived a second, and third time from Sparta, with a design to expel the Pisistratidæ; and a fourth time, when Cleomenes,

Phyle, because Hysia was not a part of Attica. See their notes. Herodotus, (vi. 108.) says, that the Athenians made Hysia the limit of the Bœotian territory.

<sup>a</sup> As Castor and Pollux were the protectors of Sparta, it is natural to suppose that when one of the two kings went out in any expedition, a representation of one of the Tyndaridæ was carried with him, whilst that of the other was left at home with the other king. But as these heroes were represented by two pieces of wood, which were joined together, it was necessary to separate them. These images were called *Docana*. The way of representing them was doubtless an emblem of their union and concord. *Larcher*.

<sup>b</sup> It was in fact the fifth. The first was during the reign of Codrus; for an account of which see in particular Pausanias i. c. 39. The second is related by Herodotus ch. 63. and was unsuccessful under Anchimolius. The third, which was the first

of Cleomenes, ch. 64. The fourth was that in which Cleomenes seized on the citadel, (ch. 72.) but since he came only with a small band, and was forced to retire in a few days, Herodotus does not consider it as an expedition. Pausanias also (iii. 4.) does not reckon it, but considers the one related in ch. 74. and seq. as the fourth. *Schweigh*.

<sup>c</sup> The Dorians established in the Peloponnese. He did not say Peloponnesians, because that term would comprehend the Arcadians, who were Autochthones, and did not join in this expedition. *Larcher*.

<sup>d</sup> An oracle had declared that the Dorians should be successful if they did not kill Codrus. He, however, having heard of the oracle, disguised himself as a peasant, and mingled with the enemy's soldiers. He there raised a quarrel and was killed. The enemy, when they heard of it, retreated.



at the head of the Peloponnesians, invaded the country of Eleusis. And thus the Dorian armies then entered the Athenian territories for the fourth time.

LXXVII. After the inglorious dissipation of this army, the Athenians, desirous to avenge themselves *for the injuries they had received*, marched in the first place against the Chalcideans. The Boeotians came out to their assistance to the Euripus. The Athenians, as soon as they perceived them, resolved to attack them first. Accordingly falling upon the enemy, the Athenians obtained a complete victory; and having killed a very great number, took seven hundred prisoners. They crossed over on the same day to Eubœa, and came to an engagement with the Chalcideans; and having obtained a victory, left four thousand men in possession of the lands belonging to the most wealthy of the inhabitants, who are called by the name of Hippobotæ<sup>e</sup>. All the prisoners taken in this battle were, together with the Boeotians, put into irons, and kept under a guard; but afterwards were set at liberty in consideration of a ransom of two minæ<sup>f</sup> paid for each man. The Athenians preserved the fetters in the Acropolis, where they remained to my time hanging on a wall, which was damaged by fire by the Mede, and is opposite the temple<sup>g</sup> that faces the west. The tenth part of this ransom they consecrated; and having made a chariot with four horses of brass, they placed it in the portico of the Acropolis, on the left side of the entrance, bearing this inscription:

When the victorious youth of Athens made  
The proud Boeotian and Chalcidean bow  
Beneath the chain, they to Minerva plac'd  
This monument, the tenth of all the spoil.

LXXVIII. Thus the Athenians increased in power. It is evident not from one instance only, but from every quarter, how excellent a thing equality of right is. For the Athenians, when governed by tyrants, were superior in war to none of their neighbours; but they had no sooner freed themselves from that servitude, than they became by far the first; which manifestly shews, that as long as they were oppressed, they willingly acted remissly, and would not exert their courage to the utmost, inasmuch as they were labouring for a master: whereas, after they had recovered their liberty, every man

<sup>e</sup> This word is derived from ἵππος, a horse, and βόσχω, I feed. As pastures were not abundant in Eubœa, only the rich were able to have horses. Good pasturage was still more scarce in Attica. See Aristoph. Nub. ver. 24. Larcher.

<sup>f</sup> This was the usual ransom among the

Peloponnesians. See vi. 79.

<sup>g</sup> Μέγαρον is sometimes used for a temple, sometimes for a palace, and frequently for the house of an individual. It appears to me that this word signified a temple, which was known by that name in particular. Larcher.

was zealous to perform his labour for himself. And such was the state of the Athenian affairs.

LXXIX. After this the Thebans, meditating revenge against the Athenians, sent to consult the oracle; and the answer of the Pythian was, that they must not expect the satisfaction they desired from their own power, but should refer the matter to the many-voiced assembly, and ask the assistance of their nearest<sup>h</sup>. With this answer the messengers returned; and when they had reported the words of the oracle in a general assembly, the Thebans said, "Have we not the Tanagræans, Coronæans, and Thespians for our nearest neighbours? Are not these our companions in fight, and always ready to take part with us in every war? What need have we then to ask their assistance? It is more probable that this is not the meaning of the oracle."

LXXX. As they were discoursing in this manner, some one, having at length comprehended it, said, "I think I understand what the oracle means. According to common fame, Asopus<sup>i</sup> had two daughters, Thebe and Ægina. Now because these were sisters, I presume the God admonishes us to desire the Æginetæ to be our avengers." The Thebans, as no opinion appeared better than this, sent to the people of Ægina, as their nearest friends, to desire succour according to the admonition of the oracle; and upon their request the Æginetæ promised to send the Æacidæ<sup>k</sup> to their assistance.

LXXXI. In conjunction with these the Thebans made an attempt, but being roughly handled by the Athenians, they sent back the Æacidæ, and desired a supply of men. Upon which the people of Ægina, elated with their present felicity, and remembering the ancient differences they had with the Athenians, invaded the territories of Athens at the desire of the Boeotians, without any preceding denunciation of war. For while the Athenian forces were employed against the Boeotians, they passed in their ships of war to Attica, and ravaged Phalerum and many villages on the coast, to the great damage of the Athenians.

<sup>h</sup> Οἱ ἄγγιστοι may signify *the nearest neighbours*, or *nearest relations*. Hesychius explains ἄγγιστοῖα by συγγένητα. Bellanger.

<sup>i</sup> Oceanus and Tethys, as the fable says, had several children, after whom rivers were named, and also Peneus and Asopus. Peneus remained in Thessaly and gave his name to the chief river. Asopus stayed at Phlius and married Metope, the daughter of Ladon, by whom he had two sons, Pelasgus and Ismenus; and twelve daughters, Corcyra, Salamis,

Ægina, Pirene, Cleone, Thebe, Tanagra, Thespia, Asopis, Sinope, Ænia, and Chalcis. Ægina was carried by Jupiter from Phlius to the island which was called after her. Asopus, having learnt this from Sisyphus, pursued her, but Jupiter struck him with his thunder. Diod. Sic. iv. 72.

<sup>k</sup> These were probably images representing the Æacidæ, and were used as allies in the same way as the Tyndaridæ in ch. 75. see note.



**LXXXII.** The ancient enmity of the Æginetæ<sup>1</sup> against the Athenians began thus. The Epidaurians, seeing their country become unfruitful, sent to consult the oracle of Delphi concerning the cause of that calamity. The Pythian answered, that if they would erect the statues of Damia and Auxesia<sup>m</sup>, their affairs should go on better. Then the Epidaurians farther demanded, whether those images should be made of stone or of brass; and the Pythian replied, of neither; but of the wood of a cultivated olive. Having received this answer, the Epidaurians desired leave of the Athenians to cut down an olive-tree, persuaded that those of that soil were the most sacred: and it is said no olive trees grew at that time in any other country than that of Athens<sup>n</sup>. The Athenians told them they were ready to grant their request, provided they would annually bring victims to Minerva Polias, and Erectheus<sup>o</sup>. This condition the Epidaurians accepting, obtained their desires; and after they had erected the statues they formed out of that wood, their country became fruitful again, and they performed the promise they had made to the Athenians.

**LXXXIII.** In those and preceding times, the Æginetæ were dependent upon the Epidaurians in other things, and they also used to cross over to Epidaurus to settle all matters of litigation between one another. But afterwards they built ships, and trusting in their strength, they revolted from the Epidaurians, and, having become their enemies, and as they were masters of the sea, they ravaged their territories, and in particular took away the statues of Damia and Auxesia, which they carried off, and erected at Cea in the midland part of their own country, about twenty stades from their city. When they had done this, to render them propitious, they appointed sacrifices, accompanied with dances performed by women in a ludicrous manner, assigning to each image ten men as choragi. On this occasion these dancers were permitted to abuse all the women of that country with opprobrious language, but not the men; which they did, in confor-

<sup>1</sup> Setting aside the unfavourable part of the Æginetan character, Ægina was the Jersey and Guernsey of the Grecian seas. *Mitford*, vii. 2. note.

Pericles emphatically called Ægina the eyesore of the Piræus. *Arist. Rhet.* iii. 10.

<sup>m</sup> These were the same as Ceres and Proserpine. These two goddesses procured fertility, and had a temple in Tegea, where they were called Carphoræ. *Pausanias* (Corinth. ii. c. 30.) relates the same fact, but calls the goddesses Auxesia and Lamia. They were also honoured at Trœzen. Damia was the

Bona Dea of the Romans. She also appears to be the same as the goddess Maia. *Larcher*.

<sup>n</sup> Herodotus knew very well that this was not true, but not choosing to hurt the pride of the Athenians, he admits it, with this restriction, "it is said." The olive likes a warm climate, and appears to be a native of the east, and to have come from thence to Greece. See *Pindar. Olymp.* iii. v. 24. *Larcher*.

<sup>o</sup> Erectheus was the sixth king of Athens, in whose reign Ceres came to Athens and planted corn.

mity to the former practice of the Epidaurians, who, besides these, had other religious ceremonies not to be mentioned.

LXXXIV. When these statues were taken away, the Epidaurians ceased to perform their contract with the Athenians. The Athenians sent to remonstrate with them, but they argued that they did not act wrong. For, said they, so long as we had those images in our country, so long we complied with our agreement; but it was not just that they should still pay the same tribute, when they had been deprived of them; and they bid them demand it of the Æginetæ who possessed them. Upon this the Athenians dispatched a messenger to Ægina, with order to demand back the statues; but the Æginetæ made answer, that they had no business with them.

LXXXV. The Athenians say, that after this refusal, they sent a trireme with some of their citizens to Ægina in the name of the commonwealth, who, upon their arrival, attempted to take off the statues from the bases, in order to carry them away, because they had been made of Athenian timber; but finding themselves unable to succeed that way, they threw cords about the images; and as they endeavoured to pull them down, they were so terrified with thunder and an earthquake, that they became mad, and killed one another like enemies, till no more than one remained alive, who escaped to Phalerum.

LXXXVI. In this manner the Athenians relate the story. But the Æginetæ say the Athenians did not come with a single ship; for they could easily have resisted one or a few more than one, even though they themselves had not been furnished with any. But they say that they came with a great number, and that they themselves did not engage, but yielded. They are however unable to give a clear account whether they yielded, because they were conscious of their own inferiority, or whether they designedly performed the part they acted; but only say, that the Athenians meeting with no opposition landed their men, and marched directly to the statues. That after they had in vain endeavoured to move them from their pedestals, they made use of cords to draw them down, and that the images upon their descent performed an action, which I cannot believe, though perhaps some others may. For, say they, both these statues fell down on their knees, and have ever since continued in that posture. These things are related of the Athenians by the people of Ægina; and concerning themselves they say, that being informed that the Athenians were about to proceed against them, they prevailed with the Argives to put them-



selves in readiness. And accordingly, when the Athenians were landed in Ægina<sup>p</sup>, the Argives entered the island privately from Epidaurus, and unexpectedly falling upon the Athenians, cut off their retreat to the ships, in which instant the thunder and earthquake happened.

LXXXVII. Thus the Argives and Æginetæ relate the story; and the Athenians themselves confess, that no more than one man escaped to Attica. But the Argives affirm, that this one man escaped, when they destroyed the Attic army; the Athenians on the contrary say, when the deity destroyed it, that this one did not survive, but perished in this manner: when he returned to Athens, and had given an account of this disaster, the wives of those who had made the descent upon Ægina, highly incensed that one man alone should be left alive of the whole number, assembled together about him, and asking for their husbands, pierced him with the clasps of their garments, till he died. They add, that the Athenians were more disturbed at this action than at their defeat; and having no other way to punish the women, compelled them to alter their dress, and wear the Ionian habit. For before that time, the wives of the Athenians were clothed in the Dorian fashion, very little differing from that of Corinth; but afterwards they changed the dress to a linen tunic<sup>q</sup>, in order that they might not use clasps. Yet if we follow the truth, this garment was originally of Caria, and not of Ionia; and indeed the ancient habit of all the women of Greece was the same with that which we now call Dorian.

LXXXVIII. From this event an ordinance was introduced among the Argives and Æginetæ that they should wear clasps greater by three-fourth parts than before; and that the women should dedicate clasps in particular in the temple of these deities; and that it should not be lawful to carry to those places any other thing made in the territories of Attica, nor yet a pitcher; but that they should drink there

<sup>p</sup> Ἐς τὴν Αἰγινάην, scil. νῆσον.

<sup>q</sup> These tunics had sleeves, the robes of the Dorians had none, they put them over the shoulders, and fastened them in front with clasps. I cannot forbear giving the words of the Scholiast quoted by Sylburgius, on St. Clement of Alexandria, (Pædagog. ii. 10.) "The Lacedæmonians wore tunics without sleeves, in order to shew their arms from the shoulder. This may be seen from the statues which represent the women. We say of those, who have this dress

"without sleeves, that they are habited in the Dorian manner, since the Lacedæmonians were Dorians; so also, on the contrary, we say of those whose tunics have sleeves that they are clothed in the Ionian fashion. These women were Athenian. The Athenians were called Ionian before they sent colonies to Ionia. The Lacedæmonians did this to make their women masculine; and the Athenians, to make their women feminine." Larcher.

in pots of their own country. In a word, the women of Argos and Ægina, in contradiction to those of Athens, wear at this day clasps of a greater size than any used in ancient time.

LXXXIX. Thus I have related the original of that enmity which the Æginetæ conceived against the Athenians; and which moved them so readily to assist the Boeotians at the desire of the Thebans; because they had not forgotten the things that had passed about the two images.

The forces of Ægina ravaged the maritime places of Attica; and while the Athenians were preparing to march out against them, an oracle was brought to Athens from Delphi, exhorting them to defer the punishment of the Æginetæ during thirty years; and in the one and thirtieth year, to build a temple to Æacus, and then to begin the war, with full assurance of success: adding farther, that if they would not be dissuaded from undertaking that enterprize immediately, they should endure and inflict many calamities, but would in the end subdue them. When the Athenians heard the prediction, they built a temple to Æacus, which is now seen standing in the public place; yet would not defer the war for thirty years, though they were told that they ought to wait, since they had suffered such indignities from the Æginetæ.

XC. But as they were preparing to take their revenge, an affair set on foot by the Lacedæmonians became an impediment. For the Lacedæmonians being informed of the fraud, contrived between the Alcmaeonidæ and the Pythian, together with all that she had done against themselves and the Pisistratidæ, considered it a double misfortune, because they had expelled their own friends and allies out of Athens, and because they received no thanks from the Athenians for that kindness. Besides, certain oracles induced them to it, which related that they would suffer many indignities from the Athenians, of which they knew nothing until the return of Cleomenes, who finding them in the Acropolis, after they had been in the possession of the Pisistratidæ<sup>r</sup>, and left in that place at their expulsion, brought them away with him to Sparta.

XCI. The Lacedæmonians therefore having received these oracles, and considering the prosperous condition of the Athenians, with their manifest unwillingness to acknowledge the superiority of Sparta, conceived that if the people of Attica should continue in freedom they would become of equal

<sup>r</sup> These oracles deposited in the Acropolis are rightly compared with the Sibylline books in the capitol of Rome. I do not doubt but that there were amongst them some verses of Musæus, which had

been corrupted by Onomacritus. See book vii. 6. *Wesseling*.

I am inclined to believe that there were also some oracles of Bacis and Amphilytus. *Larcher*.



weight with themselves; and on the contrary would be weak and humble if held down by any one in a tyranny: considering each of these things, I say, they sent for Hippias the son of Pisistratus from Sigeum on the Hellespont, (to which place the Pisistratidæ retire,) and, after his arrival, having assembled the deputies of the rest of their confederates, some of the Spartans spoke to this effect: "Friends and allies, " we are now convinced of the error we committed, when relying upon forged<sup>s</sup> oracles, we not only expelled from their " country men who were close friends, and had undertaken " to put Athens into our hands, but delivered the city to an " ungrateful people, who, after they had been set at liberty, " and had lifted up their heads through our assistance, had " the insolence to eject our king with loss and dishonour; " and who daily acquire greater boldness<sup>t</sup>, as their neighbours " the Bœotians and Chalcideans have already experienced; " and others may soon feel, if they should happen to commit " any error. Since then we have been guilty of so great a " fault, let us agree to march against them, and endeavour " to take revenge. For to that end we have sent for Hippias, and summoned every one of you, that by common " consent, and united forces, we may reinstate him in the " possession of Athens, and restore what we took away from " him."

XCII. To this effect the Lacedæmonians expressed themselves; the greater part of the confederates did not approve of their proposition; the rest kept silence, but Sosicles the Corinthian made the following speech.

"Of a truth," said he, "the heavens will sink beneath the " earth, and the earth ascend above the air; men will live " in the sea, and the fishes possess the habitations of men, " since you, O Lacedæmonians, dissolve a commonwealth, " and prepare to restore tyrannies, than which there is " nothing more unjust, and more pernicious among men. If, " forsooth, a tyranny appear to you so excellent a thing, establish one first in your own country; and then attempt to " set up tyrants in other places. But in the present case,

<sup>s</sup> Κίβδηλα παντήτα. The Athenians used to mark all counterfeit or alloyed money with a χ. They used to call them χίβδηλα νομίσματα; but the χ was changed into κ for the sake of euphony. See the Scholiast on Aristoph. Aves. v. 158. Larcher.

<sup>t</sup> Δόξαν φύσας αὐξάνεται. As in Soph. Electra, v. 1463. and Œdip. Col. 804. φρένας φύειν signifies to acquire knowledge; so in Herodotus δόξαν φύσας αὐξάνεται, signifies having obtained fame

it increases. Or if, with the generality of interpreters you prefer translating δόξαν, vain glory, boasting, the meaning of the phrase δόξαν φύειν will be nearly the same as they wish, viz. to acquire great boldness or a high spirit. The word αὐξάνεται may be either taken as I have expressed it in the Latin translation, "majores quotidie sibi spiritus sumit," or "magnum sibi spiritus sumens auget," or "potentiam suam auget." Schweigh.

“you, who are altogether unacquainted with tyrannical power, and carefully provide to prevent any such thing in Sparta, hold it a slight matter that this should happen to your allies. I persuade myself, if you had been taught by experience, as we have, you would propose better things to us.

“The constitution of Corinth was formerly<sup>a</sup> of this kind: the government was oligarchial, and was administered by those, who were known by the name of the Bacchiadæ<sup>z</sup>, and had been accustomed to marry only among their own blood. Amphion, one of these, had a daughter named Labda<sup>y</sup>, who was born lame: and because none of the Bacchiadæ would marry her, she was given to Eetion the son of Echecrates, of the borough of Petra, though originally one of the Lapithæ<sup>z</sup>, and a descendant of Cæneus<sup>a</sup>. Eetion having no children by this woman, nor by any other<sup>b</sup>, went to Delphi on that account, and as he entered the temple, the Pythian saluted him with the following lines:

Eetion, less honour'd than thy merits claim,  
Labda is pregnant, and a stone shall bear,  
To crush the monarchs, and reform the state.

“This prediction was by chance reported to the Bacchiadæ, who had not understood a former oracle concerning Corinth, tending to the same end with that of Eetion, and conceived in these terms:

<sup>a</sup> Little or nothing seems fairly to be gathered from the loose invective, following a strange romantic story, which Herodotus puts into the mouth of a man pleading with vehemence the cause of a party. Mitford, ch. iv. sect. 2. note.

<sup>x</sup> Pausanias (Corinth. sive lib. ii. 4.) and Diodorus Siculus (Fragm. vi. lib. vi.) differ in their accounts of the Bacchiadæ. See Larcher's Essay on Chronology, ch. xviii. p. 519, and seq.

<sup>y</sup> This was not her true name; (Ptolem. Hephæst. ad calcem Apollodor.) but was a kind of nickname given her by Apollo in his response, on account of the resemblance which her lameness made her bear to the Greek letter *lambda*. Anciently the letter *lambda* was called *labda*. It was a common custom among the ancients to give as nicknames the letters of the alphabet. It is related that Æsop was called *theta* by Iadmon his master, on account of his acute wit. Theta being also the name for slaves. Galerius Crassus, a military tribune under the Emperor Tiberius, was called *beta*, because he loved *beet*. Orpyllis, a courtesan of Cyzicum was called *gamma*; Antenor, who wrote the history

of Crete, was called *delta*, for *deltos* in the Cretan idiom signified the same as *agathos*. Apollonius, who lived in the time of Philopator, and was a famous astronomer, was called *epsilon*, &c. Larcher.

<sup>z</sup> Lapithus was the son of Apollo and Stilbe, and established himself near the Peneus. The people of those countries were called from him Lapithæ.

<sup>a</sup> Cæneus was a king of the Lapithæ, and lived in the time of Hercules. He was brave and invulnerable. In a combat with the Centaurs, the earth opened under his feet and swallowed him up. The poets relate a variety of marvellous stories about him.

<sup>b</sup> It is usual in the Greek language to add a great number of negative particles, where they do not appear necessary; the contrary however obtains in this passage. Instead of *ἐκ δὲ οἱ οὐδὲ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς, οὐδ' ἐξ ἄλλης, παῖδες ἐγένοντο*, the negative particle is omitted in the first place. So in the Troades of Euripides, v. 481. See Matthias' Greek Grammer, sect. 602. and in like manner in Aristoph. Aves. v. 695. Schweigh.



A brooding eagle<sup>c</sup> on the rocks<sup>d</sup> shall hatch  
 A lion-welp, destructive, fierce, and strong.  
 Consider Corinth<sup>e</sup>, and Pirene fair,  
 What must ensue from this prodigious birth.

“The Bacchiadæ, who had never been able to comprehend the meaning of this oracle, no sooner heard that which was delivered to Eetion, than they presently understood the other, since it perfectly agreed with it. Being thus assured of its meaning, they kept it secret, as they were desirous of destroying the child which should be born to Eetion. In this resolution, after the woman was brought to bed, they sent ten of their own number into the district where Eetion lived, to dispatch the child; and when those men arrived in Petra, they entered into the court of Eetion’s house and asked for the infant. Labda, not at all suspecting the cause of their coming, and imagining they asked for it out of friendship to the father, brought the child, and put it into the hands of one of the ten, who had made an agreement by the way, that whoever should first receive the infant should dash it on the ground. The child happened, by extraordinary good fortune, to smile upon the person into whose hands the mother had delivered it, and when he perceived this, he was moved by compassion to such a degree, that he could not prevail with himself to perform his promise. So the first relenting, gave him to another, and he to a third, till the infant had passed through the hands of all the ten; and when none of the company would kill him, they delivered him again to his mother, and went out of the house. But, as they stood still before the door, they fell into a warm debate, mutually blaming each other, and especially the first who took the child, for not doing as had been determined. At last they all agreed to go in again, and that every one should be equally concerned in the death of the infant.

“But it was fated that the desolation of Corinth should spring from the race of Eetion. For Labda, standing close by the gate, overheard all their discourse; accordingly, fearing that they might change their resolution, and having obtained the child a second time might kill it, she took and hid it, in a place which appeared least likely to be discovered, in a corn basket<sup>f</sup>; not doubting, if they should

<sup>c</sup> This oracle ceased to be obscure to the Bacchiadæ because Eetion is derived from *αἰὼς*, an eagle. *Larcher*.

<sup>d</sup> The translation cannot be made to express the equivocal oracle. *Ἐν πέτρῃσι* has an allusion to the borough Petra, in which Eetion lived. *Larcher*.

<sup>e</sup> In the Greek *ὀφρυνόεντα Κόρινθον*. Strabo says that appellation was given it from the rough and hilly situation of the city. (book viii. p. 586.) Acrocorinthus, in which the fountain Pirene was situated, is alluded to. *Wesseling*.

<sup>f</sup> This chest was said to have been de-

“ come in again, they would make a most diligent search, which indeed they did; for they returned, and strictly examined every part of the house; but not finding the child, they resolved to depart, and tell those who sent them they had put their orders in execution.

“ After this, the son of Eetion grew up, and having escaped from this danger, he was named Cypselus, from the corn basket. He had no sooner attained the age of a man, than he went to consult the oracle at Delphi; and in confidence of an ambiguous answer, attacked, and got possession of Corinth. The words were these:

A happy man is come within my house:  
Cypselus, Eetion's son, and Corinth's king:  
He and his sons: but then no more from him &c.

“ When Cypselus had usurped the dominion of Corinth, he behaved himself thus. He banished many of the Corinthians, deprived many of their estates, and put a far greater number to death.

“ He ended his life happily<sup>h</sup> after a reign of thirty years; and his son Periander succeeded him in the tyranny. He was at first more mild than his father; but afterwards, having by his ambassadors contracted a friendship with Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, he became far more cruel than Cypselus. He sent one to ask Thrasybulus, in his name, how he might manage his affairs, and govern the Corinthians in the safest manner. The Milesian, conducting this person out of the city, entered with him into a field of corn, and as he went through the corn, he questioned<sup>i</sup> him, again and again, concerning his coming from Corinth, and at the same time, when he saw any ear taller than the rest<sup>k</sup>, he cut it down and threw it away, till he had destroyed the best and fairest of the wheat in that manner. When he had gone through the piece of ground, he dismissed the ambassador, without charging him with any message. At his return, Periander was earnest to know

dedicated at Olympia; but I should be more inclined to believe, that the handsome chest described by Pausanias (v. 17—19.) was dedicated in memory of the event, and not made after the pattern of the original. *Valckenaer*.

ε According to Aristot. Politic. (v. 12.) Psammetichus, son of Gorgias and grandson of Cypselus, succeeded Periander. This contradicts the oracle; to reconcile which, Bouhier reads *εἰσέρει*, for *οὐκέρει*; Coray *οὐν ἔρι παῖδες*. Wesseling supposes, from Plutarch, (Sap. Conviv. p. 160.) that Gorgias reigned

after Periander; and therefore that two of the sons of Cypselus reigned, but only one grandson, whereas the oracle is in the plural.

<sup>h</sup> Herodotus used *διαπλέκειν τὸν βίον*, as the Latins *pertexere vitam*, as if it had been *vitæ telam*. *Schweigh.*

<sup>i</sup> *Ἀναποδίζων*, *percunctans identidem et revocans caduceatorem*. Budæm.

<sup>k</sup> The story of Tarquin the Proud, and his son Sextus, will occur to every one. Livy, book i. ch. 54. Larcher thinks that Euripides borrowed his idea in the Supplices, v. 447, from this passage.



“ the answer of Thrasybulus ; but he assured him he had received none ; and, wondering he should be sent to such a mad man, who destroyed his own goods, related what he had seen him do.

“ Periander presently comprehended the meaning of Thrasybulus, and understanding that by this action he had counselled him to take away the lives of the most eminent citizens, exercised all manner of cruelties in Corinth ; and completed whatever Cypselus, by killing some and driving others into banishment, had left. Besides, he stripped all the Corinthian women of their clothes in one day, on the account of his wife Melissa<sup>1</sup>. For when he sent messengers into Thesprotia upon the river Acheron to consult the oracle of the dead<sup>m</sup>, concerning a treasure deposited by a friend, Melissa appearing, said she would make no discovery, nor tell in what place it lay, because she was cold and naked ; the clothes which were buried with her proving useless, by reason they had not been burned. And to confirm the truth of this, she added, that Periander had put his bread into a cold oven. When these words were reported to Periander, the credibility of the token was allowed by him, since he had lain with her after death ; and he immediately commanded proclamation to be made, that all the women of Corinth should appear forthwith in the temple of Juno. The women went thither accordingly, richly dressed, as their manner was on festival days ; and were all alike, both the free women and the attendants, stripped by the guards of Periander, which he had privately introduced to that end. The garments were then carried to a trench, and, having invoked Melissa, he burnt them. This done, he sent again to inquire concerning the treasure of his friend, and the phantom of Melissa named the place where she had deposited it. Such, O Lacedæmonians, is a tyranny, and such are its effects. We Corinthians were seized with great astonishment, when we understood you had sent for Hippias ; but our amazement is highly augmented, since we heard your proposal. We adjure you, therefore, by the Grecian Gods, that you would not establish tyrannies in the cities of Greece. Nevertheless, if you resolve to persist in your design, and against all right endeavour to restore Hippias,

<sup>1</sup> Concerning Melissa, see book iii. ch. 50, and note.

<sup>m</sup> The various ceremonies used on these occasions are described by Potter, *Arch. Græc.* book ii. ch. 18. They might, he supposes, be performed in any place ; but some places were appropriated, two of which were most remarkable ; the first

in Thesprotia, where Orpheus is said to have restored to life Eurydice ; the other, in Campania, at the lake Avernus.

This superstition was borrowed by the Hebrews from the Egyptians, although prohibited by the severest penalties. See Deuteronomy, ch. xviii. v. 11. and 1 Samuel, ch. xxviii. *Wesseling.*

“ know, that the Corinthians, at least, will not consent with “ you<sup>n</sup>. ”

XCIII. Thus spoke Sosicles, ambassador of Corinth. But Hippias, after he had attested the same Gods, told him, that the Corinthians would be the first of all people to regret the Pisistratidæ, when the fatal time should come, that they should be harassed by the Athenians : and this he said, in confidence of certain oracles, which he was more acquainted with than any other man. The rest of the confederates, who had been silent before, having heard the speech of Sosicles, openly declared themselves ; and, unanimously embracing the sentiments of the Corinthian ambassador, adjured the Lacedæmonians not to introduce any innovation into a Grecian city. And thus that design was defeated.

XCIV. After Hippias was thus rejected, Amyntas king of Macedonia made him an offer of Anthemus, and the Thessalians another of Iolcus ; but accepting neither, he returned to Sigeum, which Pisistratus formerly had taken from the Mityleneans, and put into the hands of his natural son Hegesistratus, born of an Argive woman. He did not hold what he had received from Pisistratus without a struggle. The Mityleneans<sup>o</sup> from Achilleum, and the Athenians from Sigeum, had carried on a long war about the city ; the first demanding restitution, and the Athenians rejecting their claim, and asserting, that the Æolians had no more right to the territories of Ilium than they, or any of the Grecians, who assisted Menelaus in exacting vengeance for the rape of Helen.

XCV. Many remarkable actions of various kinds happened during this war ; among others, one relating to the poet Alcæus<sup>p</sup>, who being present in a battle, and seeing the Athenians victorious, fled out of the field and made his escape ; but the Athenians having found his arms, hung them up<sup>q</sup> in the

<sup>n</sup> The Corinthians did not always preserve the same generous sentiments. When Athens was taken by Lacedæmon, at the end of the Peloponnesian war, the Corinthians (Xenoph. Hellen. ii. 2. § 12.) advised that it should be utterly destroyed. *Larcher*.

<sup>o</sup> What Herodotus proceeds to relate happened before Hegesistratus was governor of Sigeum. Herodotus, as he often does, having made mention of Sigeum, records the war which before took place between the Athenians and Mityleneans. Several authors have given a more full account of the war. See Diogen. Laert. in Pittaco. i. 74. and Plutarch, de Ma-

lignit. Herodoti, tom. ii. p. 858. *Valckenaer*.

<sup>p</sup> Alcæus was a very celebrated lyric poet, and generally considered as the inventor of that poetry. He was a native of Mitylene.

<sup>q</sup> It was, among the ancients, a great honour to the conquerors to hang up the arms of the enemy, and a great disgrace to the vanquished to lose them. He who lost his shield was punished by law in most of the states of Greece. This misfortune happened also to the poet Archilochus, in the war of the Thasians against the Saiens, a people of Thrace. He boasted of it in his verses, and was



temple of Minerva at Sigeum. Alcæus having described this in an ode, sent it<sup>r</sup> to Mitylene to inform of the misfortune his companion Melanippus. In the end, Periander the son of Cypselus, being chosen arbitrator on both sides, reconciled the Athenians and Mityleneans, on condition that each party should retain what they had. And by this title the Athenians possessed Sigeum.

XCVI. After the return of Hippias from Lacedæmon to Asia, he set all his invention to work against the Athenians; endeavouring by aspersions to render them odious to Artaphernes, and omitting nothing that might tend to reduce Athens under the power of Darius and himself. Which when the Athenians understood, they sent ambassadors to Sardis, with instructions to solicit the Persians not to give ear to the Athenian exiles. But Artaphernes haughtily told them, that if they desired to be safe, they must receive Hippias again. The Athenians rejected the condition, and chose rather to declare open enmity against the Persians.

XCVII. When they had taken this resolution, and were in these terms with the Persians, in that conjuncture Aristagoras the Milesian, who had been commanded to depart from Sparta by Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian, arrived in Athens, which of all the other Grecian cities was the principal in power. There, addressing himself to the popular assembly, he repeated all that he had said before in Sparta touching the wealth of Asia and the Persian war, that they were easy to conquer, since they used neither shield nor spear. He withal reminded them, that the Milesians were a colony of the Athenians, and might justly expect their assistance in this exigency, since they were arrived to so great power. In a word, since he was in great need of *their assistance*, there was nothing which he did not promise, until at length he obtained their consent. In fact, it appeared more easy to impose upon a multitude than one man; since he, who had not been able to deceive Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian singly, did so to thirty thousand<sup>s</sup> Athenians. In this disposition the Athenians by a public decree determined to send twenty ships to the succour of the Ionians, under the conduct of Melanthius, a man universally esteemed in Athens. These ships

imitated in that by Horace; II. Od. vii. ver. 9.

“Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam  
“Sensi, relictâ non bene parmula.”

The Romans only laughed at the mirth of Horace; but the Spartans expelled Archilochus from Sparta, where he had gone

from curiosity. *Larcher.*

<sup>r</sup> Ἐπιτίθει ἐς Μιτυλήνην, he entrusts it to some one to carry it to Mitylene.

<sup>s</sup> All other authors say, that there were only twenty thousand citizens of Athens who had a right of voting. See Valckenaer's note.

were the source<sup>t</sup> of evils both to the Greeks and Barbarians<sup>u</sup>.

XCVIII. Aristagoras sailed before the departure of this fleet, and arriving in Miletus, formed a design, which could be of no advantage to the Ionians; nor was contrived by him to that end; but only to annoy Darius. He sent a man into Phrygia, to the Pæonians, who had been carried away prisoners by Megabyzus from the river Strymon, and occupied a spot of land in Phrygia, and a village by themselves. When this person arrived, he made the following speech: "Men of Pæonia, Aristagoras the Milesian has sent me hither, to suggest to you a way for your deliverance, if you will take his advice. For all Ionia has revolted from the king, and offers you an opportunity of getting safe to your own country; do you then yourselves take care to get as far as the coast, we will provide for the rest." The Pæonians, when they heard these words, immediately embraced the proposal, and having assembled their wives and children, fled away towards the coast, a few only excepted, who fearing the consequences stayed behind. When they were come to the sea, they embarked, and passed over to Chios, where they were no sooner landed, than the Persian cavalry arrived in great numbers on the shore, pursuing the Pæonians; and, finding they had made their escape, sent orders to Chios to command them to return. But the Pæonians slighting the message, were transported by the Chians to Lesbos, and by the Lesbians to Doriscus; from whence they marched by land into Pæonia.

XCIX. In the mean time the Athenians arrived with twenty ships at Miletus, accompanied by five more of the Eretrians, who engaged not in this expedition on the account of the Athenians, but to requite a preceding kindness they had received from the Milesians. For in the former war<sup>x</sup> the

"Herodotus has the audacity," says Plutarch, (de Malign. Herod. p. 861.) "to regard as the cause of the evils, the vessels which the Athenians sent to the assistance of the Ionians, who had revolted from the king, because they endeavoured to deliver so many celebrated Greek cities from servitude."

It is almost useless to observe that Herodotus has again imitated Homer. That poet had said before him, (Il. v. ver. 62.)

"Ὅς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τεκτὴν ἄνακτος νῆας  
ἔισας  
Ἀρχεάκους, αἱ πᾶσι κακὸν Τρώεσσι  
γένοντο. Larcher.

<sup>u</sup> Blair has placed the beginning of the Ionian revolt four years earlier,

clearly in opposition to the account of Herodotus; which authority is preferred by me, as it has been also by Dodwell, for his *Annales Thucydidei*. Herodotus expressly says, that the war lasted but six years, (vi. 18.) From the end of it he very clearly marks three to the captivity of Mardonius, (c. 31, 43, 46.) and it does not appear that more than one passed afterward before Mardonius was superseded by Artaphernes and Datis, (c. 94.) who immediately proceeded on the expedition against Greece, which Blair, with all other chronologers, places 490 years before the Christian æra. *Mitford*, ch. 7. sect. 2. note.

<sup>x</sup> This war is alluded to by Thucydides, i. 15. Of the war we know little or no-



Milesians had taken part with the Eretrians against the Chalcideans, supported by the Samians their confederates. Aristagoras, after the arrival of this succour, and the rest of his allies, resolved to make an expedition to Sardis. He did not march in person but remained at Miletus, and named as commanders of the Milesians, his brother Charopinus, and Hermophantus, who was chosen from the rest of the citizens.

C. The Ionians arriving at Ephesus, left their ships in the harbour of Coressus<sup>y</sup>, belonging to that city; and, choosing Ephesians for their guides, advanced with a numerous army by the side of the river Cayster<sup>z</sup>; from thence they passed mount Tmolus<sup>a</sup>, and coming before Sardis, took the city without opposition. But Artaphernes with a strong garrison defended the citadel.

CI. The following accident prevented them, after they had taken the city, from plundering it. Most of the houses in Sardis were built with reeds; and even those which were built with brick, were roofed with reeds. One of these was set on fire by a soldier, and immediately the flame spread from house to house, and consumed the whole city. During this fire, all the Lydians and Persians who were in the city, since the fire was consuming the extreme parts, and did not afford any way for escape, ran together in great numbers to the public place, through the midst of which the river Pactolus runs, sweeping down grains of gold<sup>b</sup> from mount Tmolus, and being afterwards received by the Hermus, passes through the same channel to the sea. Thus the Lydians and Persians being assembled in great multitudes in this place, and on the banks of the river, were constrained to defend themselves: and the Ionians seeing one part of the enemy standing on their defence, and others coming up in great numbers, retired through fear to mount Tmolus, and marched away under favour of the night to their ships.

CII. In this conflagration, the temple of Cybele the goddess of that country, was burnt; which afterwards served the Persians for a pretence to set on fire<sup>c</sup> the temples of Greece.

thing; it appears to have arisen about the plain of Lelantus, above Chalcis.

<sup>y</sup> Coressus was a mountain 40 stades from Ephesus, (Diodor. Sic. xiv. 19.) at the foot of which on the sea shore was a small town of the same name. *Larcher.*

<sup>z</sup> The Cayster rises in Lydia, in the Cilbian mountains; it winds through the plains called the Caystrian, and discharges itself into the sea a little to the west of Ephesus, between that city and Notium. The ancient poets celebrate its swans, but modern travellers make no

mention of them. The Turks call it Kitchik-Meinder, or the little Mæander. *Larcher.*

<sup>a</sup> The Turks now call this mountain Bouz-Dag, or cold mountain, or Tomolitz. *D'Anville.*

<sup>b</sup> It had ceased to do this in the time of Strabo, (xiii. p. 928.) that is to say, in the time of Augustus. *Larcher.*

<sup>c</sup> Wesseling supposes that the Persians burnt the temples, because they did not believe that gods could be enclosed within walls. But, says *Larcher*,

When the Persians who had their habitations on this side the river Halys were informed of these things, they drew together, and marched to the succour of the Lydians; but not finding the Ionians at Sardis, they followed their track and overtook them at Ephesus, where they fought and defeated the Ionian army with great slaughter. In this battle many illustrious persons were killed; and among others, Eualcis<sup>d</sup>, general of the Eretrians, who had been victorious in several contests, the prize of which was a crown, and had been highly celebrated by Simonides<sup>e</sup> the Cean. Those who escaped out of the field, dispersed themselves throughout the different cities.

CIII. And such was the success of this expedition. After which, the Athenians totally abandoned the Ionians; and when they were solicited on their part by the ambassadors of Aristagoras in the most pressing terms, declared they would send them no assistance. But the Ionians, though they were deprived of that succour, yet because they had done so much against Darius, prepared themselves to carry on the war with no less vigour than before; and, sailing into the Hellespont they reduced Byzantium, with all the adjacent cities under their obedience. Then having sailed out of the Hellespont, they prevailed with many of the Carians to become their confederates; for the city of Caunus, which before had rejected their alliance, went over to the Ionians after the burning of Sardis.

CIV. And all the Cyprians, except the Amathusians, readily entered into the same confederacy, having already revolted from Darius in this manner. Onesilus the younger brother of Gorgus king of the Salaminians, son to Chersis, and grandson of Siromus the son of Euelthon<sup>f</sup>, having formerly solicited his brother at divers times to revolt against the king; when he heard of the Ionian defection, renewed his instances with very great earnestness. But finding he could not prevail upon Gorgus, he waited an opportunity; and one day, when his brother was gone out of the city with his partizans, shut the gates against him. Gorgus being thus excluded, fled to the Medes; and Onesilus having possessed himself of Salamis,

why did they not burn the temples of the Ionians before their revolt, and also those of the Phœnicians, &c.

<sup>d</sup> This Eualcis is not mentioned elsewhere. No trace remains of his praises in the fragments of Simonides.

The Olympic victor of the name was an Elean. See Pausan. Eliac. post. s. lib. vi. 16. *Larcher*.

<sup>e</sup> There were several poets of this name. The present one was the son of Leoprepes, and grandson of another Simonides,

who was also a poet. He is said to have enjoyed, even at the age of 80 years, a most excellent memory; and at the same age he obtained a prize for his poetry. He was fond of money, and celebrated those most who paid him best. See *Aristoph. Pax. v. 695. Larcher*. See also *Aristot. Rhet. iii. 2*.

<sup>f</sup> It was this Euelthon, who gave an asylum to Pheretima, the mother of Arcesilaus, the third king of Cyrene. See book iv. ch. 162.



endeavoured to persuade all the Cyprians to join with him. The rest he persuaded; and having sat down before Amathus, which would not listen to him, he besieged it.

CV. Whilst Onesilus was employed in the siege of Amathus, Darius, being informed that Sardis had been taken and burnt by the Athenians and Ionians, and that Aristagoras the Milesian had been the chief of this confederacy, and the contriver of that enterprize, was not much concerned about the Ionians, who, he doubted not, might be easily punished for their rebellion; but demanded what people those Athenians were: when he had received an answer he called for a bow, and having received one, he put an arrow into it and shot it into the air<sup>g</sup>, with these words; “Grant, O Jupiter, that I “may<sup>h</sup> be able to revenge myself on the Athenians!” After he had thus spoken, he commanded one of his attendants thrice to repeat the ensuing words, every time dinner was set before him, “Master! remember the Athenians.”

CVI. Then calling Histiaeus the Milesian, whom he had long detained with him, Darius said: “I am informed Histiaeus, that the person, to whom you entrusted Miletus, has “contrived innovations against me; for he has brought men “into Asia from the other continent, and having persuaded “the Ionians, who shall not go long unpunished, to join them, “has with those forces deprived me of Sardis. Is it at all “possible that these things can appear to you right? Or that “any such thing can have been done without your advice? “Be careful therefore that you do not hereafter bring yourself into blame.” To this Histiaeus answered: “O king, “what have you said? That I should advise a thing, which “might give you the least occasion of vexation! What advantage could I propose to myself by such an action? What “am I in want of? I, who live in the same splendour with “you, and am honoured with the confidence of all your counsels? If my lieutenant is guilty of the actions you mention, “be assured, he himself has been the contriver. But I indeed cannot at all persuade myself, that he and the Milesians have attempted any thing against your authority. Yet “if the charge should be true, and he has indeed done as “you have been informed, consider, O king, whether your “affairs are not prejudiced by my absence from the maritime

<sup>g</sup> Was this a declaration of war? The actual practice of the Kalmuck Tartars, neighbours of the Persians, gave me the idea. “The Kalmucks,” says Chardin, (*Voyages*, vol. iv. p. 302.) “go towards “the limits of their territory, on the “frontier which separates the two coun-

“tries, and there solemnly shoot an arrow in the Persian land, which is the “signal by which they declare war.” *Larcher*.

<sup>h</sup> Δὸς or εὐχομαι, or something similar must be understood before ἐκγεῖσθαι μοι, See Valckenaer’s note.

“ parts. For the Ionians seem only to have waited until I should be withdrawn, to put in execution what they had long ago desired ; and if I had continued in Ionia, not one of those cities would have revolted. Dismiss me therefore with speed, and send me back to Ionia, that I may restore the affairs of those countries to their former condition, and deliver the Milesian deputy into your hands, who has been the author of these enterprizes. When I have performed this according to your desire, I swear by the gods of the king, not to change the garments I shall wear when I go down to Ionia, before I render the great island of Sardinia<sup>i</sup> tributary to you.”

CVII. Histiaëus said these words in order to deceive the king ; and succeeded in his design. For Darius was persuaded to let him go ; only commanding him to return to Susa, so soon as the things he had promised should be performed.

CVIII. While tidings concerning Sardis had been brought to the king, and he, having shot the arrow as described, had held a conference with Histiaëus, and while Histiaëus having been dismissed by Darius, was on his journey to the sea ; in all this time the following actions passed. Onesilus the Salaminian, who was employed in the siege of Amathus, having received information, that a great army under the conduct of Artybius a Persian, was to be expected in Cyprus, sent heralds to the different parts of Ionia, to invite them to bring assistance, who, without any protracted deliberation, assembled a considerable armament, and sailed to Cyprus. The Persians on their part crossed over from Cilicia and marched up to Salamis, while the Phœnicians in their ships doubled the promontory, which is called the key of Cyprus<sup>k</sup>.

CIX. In the mean time the Cyprian princes summoned the Ionian captains together, and spoke to them in these terms : “ Men of Ionia, we give you the choice, either to fight against the Persians or Phœnicians. If you choose to engage the Persians in a land battle, it is time to bring your forces ashore, that we may go on board your ships,

<sup>i</sup> Rollin (Hist. Anc. tom. ii. p. 151. not.) thinks this island too far distant from Ionia, and in consequence suspects that the text has been altered. The same thing is repeated without any variety at the commencement of the next book. And, as Larcher shews in his note, the Ionians had penetrated to the remotest parts of the Mediterranean.

<sup>k</sup> There are two small islands, according to Strabo, (xiv. p. 1000.) and

four, according to Pliny, (Hist. Nat. v. 31.) near the eastern part of the island of Cyprus, and seven hundred stades from the river Pyramus, which were called *κλειδες*, the keys. It appears by this passage of Herodotus, that the promontory bore the same name. Strabo calls it *Βούσουρα*, and Ptolemy (Geogr. v. p. 157.) *Ὀὐρά βόως*, the tail of a cow. Pliny calls it *dinaretum*. Larcher.



“ and fight the Phœnicians. But if you are more willing to  
 “ make an experiment of your strength against the Phœni-  
 “ cians, do as you think convenient, that, whether you de-  
 “ termine one way or the other, as far as depends on you,  
 “ Ionia and Cyprus may be free.” To this the Ionians an-  
 swered: “ We are sent by the general council of Ionia to  
 “ defend the sea, and not to deliver our ships to the Cy-  
 “ prians, in order to fight the Persians by land. We there-  
 “ fore shall endeavour to do our duty in that post in which  
 “ we are placed; and it is right that you, bearing in mind  
 “ the evils you suffered under the tyranny of the Medes,  
 “ should prove yourselves to be brave men.” This was the  
 answer of the Ionians.

CX. After this, when the Persians had advanced into the  
 plains of Salamis, the kings of Cyprus drawing up their forces  
 in order of battle, placed the best of the Salaminians and  
 Solians against the front of the Persians, and all the rest of  
 the Cyprians against the enemy’s auxiliaries. Onesilus volun-  
 tarily placed himself directly against Artybius the Persian  
 general.

CXI. Artybius used to ride on a horse, which had been  
 taught to rear up against an armed enemy. Of this, One-  
 silus had been already informed; and having as a shield-  
 bearer, a Carian well skilled in military affairs, and of great  
 boldness, he said to him, “ I am informed that the horse of  
 “ Artybius rears up, and with his feet and teeth overthrows  
 “ the man he is rode up to; consider therefore and tell me,  
 “ which you will watch and strike, Artybius or his horse?”  
 “ I am ready,” answered the attendant, “ to do both, or  
 “ either, or any other thing you may command. But I shall  
 “ take liberty to propose that which I think most conducive  
 “ to your honour. He who is a king and a general, ought to  
 “ engage one who is of the same condition. For if you kill  
 “ him, your glory is great; and if he kills you, which may  
 “ the gods avert, it is half the misfortune to fall by a noble  
 “ hand<sup>1</sup>. It is right that we slaves should fight against other  
 “ slaves, and also against a horse, whose tricks do not you  
 “ fear; for I take upon me to prevent him from rearing  
 “ up against any man for the time to come.”

CXII. Soon after these words, the armies engaged both  
 by sea and land. All the Ionians fought vigorously, and de-  
 feated the Phœnicians at sea; but the Samians surpassed the

<sup>1</sup> Compare Virgil, *Æneid*. x. ver. 830.

“ *Æneæ magni dextrâ cadis.*”

And Ovid, *Metamorph.* xii. ver. 80.

“ *Quisquis es, o juvenis, solatia mor-*

*“ tis habeto,*

*“ Dixit, ab Hæmonio quod sis jugula-*  
*“ tus Achille.”*

See also, *Id.* v. ver. 191.

rest in valour that day. When the armies met by land, they engaged, and the following happened to the two generals; Artybius pushed his horse towards Onesilus, and Onesilus struck Artybius, as he had concerted before with his shield-bearer. The attendant on his part, seeing the horse raising his feet to the shield of Onesilus, struck him with a scythe, and cut them both off. So that Artybius the Persian general fell with his horse to the ground.

CXIII. While the rest were fighting, Stesenor tyrant of Curium, which is said to be a colony of Argos, revolted to the enemy with a considerable number of forces under his command; and presently after this treachery of the Curians, the chariots of war<sup>m</sup> belonging to Salamis followed their example, by which means the Persians obtained the victory, and the Cyprians were put to flight with great slaughter. Among others, Onesilus the son of Chersis, who had persuaded the Cyprians to revolt, was killed in this battle, together with Aristocyprus king of the Solians, the son of that Philocyprus<sup>n</sup>, whom Solon the Athenian, when at Cyprus, celebrated in his verses above all tyrants.

CXIV. The Amathusians cut off the head of Onesilus, because he had besieged their city, and placed it over the gates of Amathus, where, after some time, when the head had become hollow, a swarm of bees entered, and filled the skull with a honey-comb. Upon which the Amathusians consulting the oracle, were admonished, that if they would take down the head and inter it, and sacrifice annually to Onesilus, as to a hero, their affairs should prosper. The Amathusians did accordingly, and continued those sacrifices to my time.

CXV. The Ionians, who had fought by sea on the coast of Cyprus, hearing the ruin of the affairs of Onesilus, and that the rest of the Cyprian cities were besieged, except Salamis, which the Salaminians had restored to their former king Gorgus, sailed away to Ionia. Of all the cities of Cyprus, Soli sustained the longest siege; but in the fifth

<sup>m</sup> These chariots (Schol. on Aristoph. *Nubes*, v. 28.) were mounted by two men, one guided the reins, the other fought. This was the ancient method of fighting in chariots, and was preserved to a later period by the Thebans in Boeotia. *Wesseling*.

<sup>n</sup> Philocyprus was king of Soli when Solon arrived in Cyprus. That town was then called *Æpeia*, on account of its lofty situation; *Αἰρὸς* signifying *elevated*. The environs were not only steep,

but unfruitful. Solon advised Philocyprus to rebuild it on the plain below, and undertook the care of peopling it, and of regulating, in concert with the king, every thing which might contribute to its safety and abundance. Inhabitants flocked to it from all sides. Philocyprus, from gratitude, gave to the new town the name of Soli. Solon mentions this in some verses addressed to that prince. See *Plutarch's Life of Solon*. *Larcher*.



month the place was taken by the Persians, after they had undermined the walls.

CXVI. And thus the Cyprians having been free during one year, were again reduced to servitude. Daurises, Hymeas, and Otanes, whose wives were daughters to Darius, having, together with other Persian generals, pursued those Ionians who marched against Sardis, and after they had defeated them, having driven them into their ships, next divided the cities among themselves and proceeded to plunder them.

CXVII. Daurises directing his march towards those of the Hellespont, took Dardanus, Abydos, Percote, Lampsacus, and Pæsus; these he took each on one separate day. But advancing from Pæsus towards Parium, he received a message, importing, that the Carians having conspired with the Ionians, had likewise revolted from the Persians. Upon this advice he turned from the Hellespont, and led his army towards Caria.

CXVIII. The Carians having by chance obtained information of this, before his arrival in their territories, assembled their forces at a place called the *White Columns*, upon the river Marsyas, which passes through the country of Hydrias, and falls into the Mæander. Divers propositions were made in this camp; but none, in my opinion, so good as that of Pixodarus the son of Mausolus, a Cyndian, who had married the daughter of Syennesis<sup>o</sup> king of Cilicia. He advised that the Carians would pass the Mæander, and fight the Persians on the other side; that having the river in their rear, and no way left to retreat, they might be necessitated to keep their ground, and surpass the common valour of men. This opinion did not prevail, but it prevailed that the Mæander should rather be in the rear of the Persians; to the end that if they should be beaten, they might fall into the river and not get off in safety.

CXIX. So the Persians advancing passed the Mæander; and the Carians expecting the enemy on the banks of the river Marsyas, fought a long and bloody battle, till at last, oppressed with numbers, they were totally defeated. In this action two thousand Persians and ten thousand Carians were killed. The rest of the Carians who escaped out of the fight, fled to Labranda, and betook themselves to a vast grove of plane trees, sacred to Jupiter Stratius<sup>p</sup>. They are the only

<sup>o</sup> See note on book i. ch. 74.

<sup>p</sup> Ζεὺς στράτιος: *Jupiter the Warrior*. Jupiter was particularly honoured under this title at Labranda, and there-

fore Strabo (xiv. p. 973.) calls him the Labrandinian Jupiter. He held a hatchet in his hand, and Plutarch (*Quæst. Græc.* p. 301.) gives us the reason. He was

people we know, who sacrifice to that deity, under the name of Stratius. When they had taken sanctuary in that place, they deliberated whether it would be better for them to surrender themselves to the Persians, or entirely to abandon Asia.

CXX. While they were deliberating about this affair, the Milesians with their confederates came to their assistance; upon this, they gave up what they were before deliberating about, and prepared to recommence the war. Accordingly they met the Persians, and fought another battle with more obstinacy than the former; but in the end were put to flight, with great slaughter, in which the Milesians suffered most.

CXXI. The Carians however afterwards recovered this wound, and rallied. For hearing that the Persians designed to invade their cities, they placed an ambuscade on the way to Pedasa, into which the Persians falling by night, were cut in pieces, with their generals Daurises, Amorges and Sisamaces. Myrses the son of Gyges was likewise involved in this slaughter: and such was the end of these Persians. Heraclides the son of Ibanolis, a Mylasian, conducted this ambuscade.

CXXII. Hymeas, another of those who pursued the Ionians after the expedition to Sardis, bending his march towards the Propontis, took the city of Cius in Mysia. But hearing that Daurises had quitted the Hellespont, and was advancing against the Carians, he abandoned the Propontis; and being arrived with his army on the Hellespont, subdued all the Æolians who inhabited the territory of Ilium, together with the Gergithæ, who were the only remaining people of the ancient Teucrians; and after the conquest of these nations he died at Troas.

CXXIII. In the mean time Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, and Otanes, who was one of the three<sup>1</sup> generals, being appointed to invade Ionia, and the neighbouring territories of Æolia, possessed themselves of Clazomenæ belonging to the Ionians, and Cyme belonging to the Æolians.

CXXIV. After the capture of which cities, Aristagoras the Mylasian perceiving these misfortunes, resolved to fly, for he was, as he clearly shewed, of a timid disposition<sup>r</sup>, though

afterwards worshipped at other places under the same appellation: "in Ponto "circa Heracleam, aræ sunt Jovis Stratii cognomine;" Pliny Hist. Nat. xvi. 44. Mars was also honoured under that title. Among the marbles at Oxford, there is a stone which seems to have served for an altar, having an axe, and this inscription; ΔΙΟΣ. ΑΑΒΡΑ-ΥΝΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΜΕΤΙCΤΟΥ: Of

the Labraindian Jupiter, and most mighty Jupiter. It was found in a Turkish cemetery, between Aphrodisias and Hierapolis, and consequently in Caria, though at a great distance from Labranda. Larcher.

<sup>1</sup> There were in fact but three named in chapter 116.

<sup>r</sup> Herodotus accuses Aristagoras of pusillanimity, apparently without rea-



he had thrown Ionia into confusion, and raised great disturbances; and, besides, it appeared to him impossible to overcome Darius. To that end he summoned those of his faction together; and having told them their common safety required that care should be taken to secure a place of refuge, in case they should be expelled from Miletus, he asked, whether he ought to conduct a colony to Sardinia, or to the city of Myrcinus, in the country of Edonis, which Histæus having received as a gift from Darius, had begun to fortify.

CXXV. But Hecataeus the historian, son to Hegesander, declared his opinion against both those propositions, and said, that if they should be compelled to relinquish Miletus, they ought to build a fortress in the island Lerus, and there continue quiet, till they could safely return back again. This was the counsel of Hecataeus.

CXXVI. Nevertheless Aristagoras being most inclined to go to Myrcinus, left the government of Miletus in the hands of Pythagoras, an eminent citizen; and together with all those who were willing to accompany him, sailed into Thrace, and took possession of the region to which he was bound. Setting out from that place, he laid siege to a city<sup>s</sup>; and, while encamped around it, he perished with his army by the hands of the Thracians, who before had offered to surrender upon terms.

son. Aristagoras knew that, however others might make their peace, there could be no pardon for him; and when he could no longer assist his country in the unequal contest into which he had led it, his presence might only inflame the enemy's revenge. Mitford, ch. vii. sect. 2.

<sup>s</sup> This city was called *Ἐννέα ὁδοί*, nine ways. Thucydides (iv. 102.) re-

lates, that thirty-two years after the defeat of this Aristagoras, the Athenians sent a colony to that place, which was cut in pieces, but that when twenty-nine years had elapsed, Agnon son of Nicias, conducted another colony to that place, which expelled the Edonians, and built the city of Amphipolis nearly on the site of Novem-viæ.

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
HERODOTUS.

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BOOK VI.

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ERATO.

THUS died Aristagoras, who induced the Ionians to revolt; and Histiaëus tyrant of Miletus, having been dismissed<sup>a</sup> by Darius, went down to Sardis, where, when he arrived from Susa, Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, asked his opinion concerning the cause of the Ionian defection. Histiaëus said, he could not imagine; and, as if he was ignorant of all that was going on, seemed extremely surprised at what had happened. But Artaphernes perceiving his dissimulation, and being fully informed of the true reason of the revolt, replied, “Histiaëus, “this affair stands thus; you made the shoe and Aristagoras “has put it on<sup>b</sup>.”

II. Artaphernes spoke thus concerning the revolt. Histiaëus fearing Artaphernes, since he knew the truth of the matter, fled away the following night towards the sea, and deceived Darius; for, instead of reducing the great island of Sardinia, according to his promise, he took upon himself the conduct of the Ionian war against the king. He crossed over to Chios and was put in chains by the Chians, upon suspicion that he had some design to execute there in favour of Darius. But when they understood the whole truth, and found he was an enemy to the king, they set him at liberty again.

III. During his stay in that place, being questioned by the Ionians to what end he had so earnestly pressed Aristagoras

<sup>a</sup> Μεμετιμένος is used by the Ionians for the common μεθειμένος, as if the simple word was μετώ, and had the

same meaning as μεθίημι, *dimitto*.

<sup>b</sup> This became a proverb.



by messages to revolt from Darius, and brought such disasters upon Ionia, he by no means laid before them the true reason; but told them, that the king had resolved to bring the Phœnicians into Ionia, and to transport the Ionians<sup>c</sup> into Phœnicia. This, he said, was the cause of his message to Aristagoras: and thus he alarmed the Ionians; though indeed Darius had never formed any such design.

IV. After these things, by means of one Hermippus an Atarnian as a messenger, he sent to Sardis letters to certain Persians, as if they had held a previous conference with him concerning a revolt. But Hermippus did not deliver the letters to the persons to whom they were addressed, but put them into the hands of Artaphernes, who, by this means, perceiving what was doing, commanded the messenger to deliver the letters of Histiaüs to the persons he was ordered to carry them, and bring to him the answers he should receive from the Persians. Thus Artaphernes having made a full discovery, put many of the Persians to death, and caused a great disorder in Sardis.

V. Histiaüs, disappointed of these hopes, was conducted back to Miletus by the Chians at his own request; but the Milesians, having gladly got rid of Aristagoras, were by no means eager, inasmuch as they had tasted liberty, to receive another tyrant into their country. Upon which, endeavouring to enter the city by night with an armed force, he was wounded in the thigh by a Milesian; after he was thus repulsed from his own country, he went back to Chios, and from thence, since he could not persuade the Chians to entrust him with their fleet, he passed over to Mitylene; and prevailed with the Lesbians to furnish him with eight ships, which they fitted out, and accompanied him to Byzantium. In this station they took all the ships that came out of the Euxine, except such as were willing to take part with Histiaüs.

VI. During the course of these actions done by Histiaüs and the Mityleneans, a numerous naval and land force was expected against Miletus itself. For the Persian generals deeming the other cities of less importance, had collected and formed one camp and marched against Miletus. Their maritime forces consisted of the Phœnicians, Cilicians, and Egyptians, with the Cyprians, who had been lately subdued; but of all these, the Phœnicians shewed the greatest zeal to forward the enterprize.

<sup>c</sup> It was easier to make the Ionians credit this assertion, because such kind of transigrations were frequent among the Assyrians and Persians. It is well known that the Jews were removed to Babylon and Media, and Hyrcanians were

to be found in Asia Minor: it would indeed be endless to enumerate all the transigrations made by the command of these people. *Larcher.*

See also Wesseling's note.

VII. When the Ionians heard of the enemy's preparations against Miletus and the rest of Ionia, they sent deputies to the Panionium<sup>d</sup>; where being arrived, and consulting together, they unanimously resolved not to bring together any land forces to oppose the Persians; but that the Milesians themselves should defend the city to the utmost of their power, and that they should man their ships, without leaving one behind, and after they had completely equipped them they should assemble as soon as possible at Lade, to fight in defence of Miletus. Lade<sup>e</sup> is a small island opposite Miletus.

VIII. In this resolution the Ionians manned their ships, and appearing at the rendezvous in conjunction with those Æolians who inhabit Lesbos, drew up their fleet in the following order. The Milesians with eighty ships occupied the east wing; and next to these the Prienians with twelve ships, and the Myusians with three, followed by seventeen of the Teians, and a hundred sail of Chians. Next to these, were the Erythræans in eight, the Phocæans in three, and the Lesbians in seventy ships. The Samians with sixty sail, were posted at the extremity of the line and occupied the western wing. So that the whole Ionian fleet consisted of three hundred and fifty-three ships.

IX. And though the Barbarians arrived on the Milesian coast with six hundred ships, and all their land forces; yet the Persian generals hearing the number of the Ionian fleet, began to fear they should be unable to overcome them, and thus be also unable to take Miletus, since they would not be masters at sea; and also that they might be in danger of receiving some punishment from Darius, summoned together the tyrants of Ionia, who having been expelled by Aristagoras from their dominions, had fled to the Medes, and at that time accompanied the enemy in the expedition against the Milesians. To these men, when they were met together, the Persians spoke in the following terms: "Let each of you, O Ionians, now shew himself ready to benefit the king. For let every one of you endeavour to divide his own subjects

<sup>d</sup> See book i. ch. 142.

<sup>e</sup> Lade was a small island a little distance from Miletus, and opposite to it, according to Thucydides, (viii. 17.) Some parts of it were detached and formed other small islands, (Arrian de Exped. Alex. i. 18.) It is at present joined to the continent. See the description of the Troad by M. Wood, p. 332. *Larcher*.

The site of Miletus has now long ceased to be maritime, and Lade to be an is-

land. The bay on which that city stood has been gradually filled with the sand brought down by the river Latmus, and Lade is an eminence in a plain. See Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor, or rather the Voyage Pittoresque de la Grece, par M. de Choiseuil Gouffier. Myus, near the mouth of the Mæander, underwent earlier the same fate. Pausan, vii. 3. *Mitford*, ch. vii. sect. 2. note.



“ from the rest of the confederacy, promising, in order to  
 “ that end, that none shall suffer<sup>f</sup> on account of their rebel-  
 “ lion, that we will neither burn their buildings whether sa-  
 “ cred or profane<sup>g</sup>, and that they shall be in no respect treated  
 “ with more severity than before. But if they refuse this  
 “ offer, and are fully resolved to come to the hazard of a bat-  
 “ tle, threaten them<sup>h</sup> with the evils which will befall them;  
 “ that, after we have conquered, they shall be reduced to the  
 “ condition of slaves; that we will make eunuchs of their  
 “ youth, transport all their virgins to Bactra, and give their  
 “ country to another people.”

X. When the Persians had expressed themselves in this manner, and night was come, every one of the Ionian tyrants dispatched a messenger to those he had formerly commanded, with instructions *to let them know what they were to expect*. But the Ionians upon the reception of these messages persisted in their determinations and would not listen to the proposal of betraying the cause; for each nation was of opinion, that they alone were solicited by the enemy. Such were the actions of the Persians, immediately after their arrival before Miletus.

XI. The Ionians having assembled their fleet near Lade, held assemblies, in which, after divers propositions had been made, Dionysius, general of the Phocæans, spoke to this effect: “ Our affairs, O Ionians, are upon the edge of a razor, whether we shall be free men or slaves, and that too as run-away slaves. Now therefore, if you will submit to some hardships at this time, you may indeed be uneasy for the present; but you will be able to preserve your freedom, and overcome your enemies. Whereas, if you abandon yourselves to effeminacy and disorder, I have no hope that you will escape undergoing punishment for your revolt. Follow my advice, and entrust yourselves to me, and I engage, if the gods are impartial, either that our enemies will not fight us at all, or if they do, that they shall be completely beaten.”

XII. When the Ionians heard this, they consented to put themselves under the discipline of Dionysius, who every day led out the ships in a line<sup>i</sup>, and when by the movement of the

<sup>f</sup> Literally; that they shall not suffer any thing disagreeable. On this form of expression, see note on book i. ch. 41.

<sup>g</sup> Τὰ ἱερά are the temples of the Gods; τὰ ἴδια not only the houses of private individuals, but any public edifices, which are not dedicated to the worship of the Gods; such as are called by the ancients ὄσια when opposed to ἱερά. Valckenaer.

<sup>h</sup> Ἐπηράζοντες. The Scholiast on

Thucyd. (i. 26.) explains κατ' ἐπήρειαν by κατ' ἀπειλήν. See also Raphelius on St. Matthew, vol. i. p. 227. and Arist. Rhet. ii. 2. Larcher.

<sup>i</sup> Ἐπὶ κέρας. Those ships which sailed out one after another, by turning round, would easily form into a line. This expression occurs frequently in Thucydides and the Hellenics of Xenophon.

diecplus<sup>k</sup> he had exercised the rowers and kept the marines<sup>l</sup> in arms, he made the ships lay at anchor<sup>m</sup> the rest of the day: and thus during the whole day<sup>n</sup> he gave the Ionians no relaxation from their toil. Seven days they continued to obey the commands of Dionysius; but since they were unaccustomed to such hardships, and exhausted by labour and the scorching heat of the sun, they began to complain one to another in such terms as these: "What deity have we offended, that we "now undergo these hardships? Senseless and deprived of "understanding<sup>o</sup>, we have surrendered ourselves into the "hands of a presumptuous Phocæan, who, though he brought "in no more than three ships to the common defence, harasses "us by intolerable hardships. Great numbers of us are already "fallen into distempers, and we may reasonably expect many "more will soon be in the same condition. It were better "for us to suffer any other thing, than the pressures we now "lie under; better to endure the impending servitude, of "what sort soever it may be, than to be oppressed with the "present. Let us take courage then, and no longer submit "to his commands." Immediately after this, they unanimously refused to obey the orders of Dionysius, but like a land army forming a camp in the island, sat under the shade of their tents, and would not go on board and perform their exercise.

XIII. The generals of the Samians observing these things, and seeing great disorder among the Ionians, accepted the proposal they had received on the part of the Persians, by a message from Æaces the son of Syloson<sup>p</sup>, exhorting them to abandon the confederacy; and at the same time being per-

<sup>k</sup> This was a movement in ancient naval tactics. The principal weapon in their engagements was a strong beak of brass or iron projecting from the stem of the galley. Their object was to break the line of the enemy, and bring their beaks to bear directly upon the enemy's broadside; or to gain the means of an oblique impulse, which might sweep away some of his oars. They appear to have effected this by the movement called *δέκπλοος*, sailing out through the enemy's line.

<sup>l</sup> As the ancient sea-fights very frequently resembled land engagements, it was found necessary to have on the decks a great number of armed men, who might with missile weapons annoy the enemy. These were called *Epibatai*, and seem to have borne a very great resemblance to our marines.

<sup>m</sup> The Greeks used to draw up their vessels along the shore, while they them-

selves were on land. When the centinels perceived the fleet of the enemy, they made signals, and the men immediately went on board. This custom was the cause of the destruction of the Athenian fleet at Ægos Potamos. See Xenophon's *Hellenics*. The Ionians, whom their leader would not suffer to go on shore, found the service very laborious; and as they were not accustomed to military discipline, it is not surprising that they considered this as a species of servitude which they were impatient to free themselves from. *Larcher*.

<sup>n</sup> *Δι' ἡμέρης*. This ought not to be rendered *quotidie*, every day, but *during the whole day*. See i. 97. ii. 173. and vii. 210. *Valckenaer*.

<sup>o</sup> *Ἐκπλώσαντες ἐκ τοῦ νόου*. See book iii. ch. 155.

<sup>p</sup> Concerning this person see book iii. 139.



suaded that it was impossible to prevail against the king, because they knew, if that fleet of Darius should be destroyed, he would send another five times as powerful, they embraced the pretext, as soon as they saw the Ionians would not acquit themselves like men, and thought they should be gainers, if they could preserve their temples and private houses from destruction. This *Æaces*, from whom the Samians received the proposal, was the son of *Syloson*, the son of another *Æaces*; and being tyrant of *Samos*, had been deprived of his dominions by *Aristagoras* the Milesian, as the rest of the Ionian tyrants were.

XIV. In this disposition of things, the Phœnicians advanced with their ships, and the Ionians came on likewise in order of battle; but I cannot affirm with certainty who among the Ionians behaved themselves well or ill, after the two fleets were engaged, because they mutually accuse one another. Yet they say, that the Samians, in pursuance of their agreement with *Æaces*, immediately hoisting sail went out of the line, and returned to *Samos*, eleven ships only excepted, the captains of which stayed and fought, in disobedience to their leaders; and for this action were rewarded at their return by the community of *Samos*, with an inscription on a pillar, declaring their names and families, in order to transmit their memory to posterity with honour; which monument is still seen in the public place. When the Lesbians, who were in the next station, saw that the Samians had betaken themselves to flight, they followed their example; and most of the Ionians did the same.

XV. But among those who persisted in the battle, the Chians were most roughly handled, as they displayed the most signal proofs of their valour, and would not act cowardly. They brought, as I said before, one hundred ships, each of which had forty chosen citizens on board, who served as *Epibatæ*; and though they saw that the greatest part of the confederates had abandoned the common cause, they would not be persuaded to imitate their treachery; but choosing rather to remain with the few, they made the dieplus and engaged the enemy; till at last, after they had taken many ships, and lost more of their own, they fled away homewards with the rest.

XVI. Those Chians, who had their ships disabled in the fight, being pursued by the enemy, made the best of their way to *Mycale*; and having run their ships aground left them there, and marched by land into the country of *Ephesus*, and arrived near the city by night, at a time when the women were celebrating the *Thesmophoria*<sup>q</sup>. The Ephesians alto-

<sup>q</sup> See note on book i. ch. 171

gether ignorant of what had befallen the Chians, and seeing an armed multitude within their territories, thought they could be no other than robbers, who had a design upon the women; and in that opinion, sallying out with the whole force of the city, killed them: and this was the fate of those Chians.

XVII. In the mean time Dionysius the Phocæan, when he saw the Ionians totally defeated, abandoned the fight, and sailed away with three ships he had taken from the enemy. But not at all doubting that Phocæa would be subdued with the rest of Ionia, instead of returning home, he went directly to Phœnicia; and after he had disabled<sup>r</sup> many trading ships on that coast, sailed away with immense riches to Sicily; from whence he committed great depredations upon the Carthaginians and Tuscans, yet always spared the Greeks.

XVIII. The Persians on their part, having obtained this victory over the Ionians, besieged Miletus both by sea and land; and after they had undermined the walls, and brought up all manner of military engines, took the city, together with the citadel<sup>s</sup>, in the sixth year after the revolt of Aristagoras, and reduced the inhabitants to servitude, as agreed with the oracle which had been delivered concerning Miletus.

XIX. For when the Argives consulted the Pythian touching the fortune of their city, they received a double answer; part concerning themselves, and part, as an addition, relating to the Milesians. That which was addressed to the Argives I will mention when I arrive at that part of the history<sup>t</sup>; the other part relating to the Milesians, who were not present ran thus;

Miletus, source of ill, thy stores shall serve  
To feast and to enrich a multitude.  
Men with long hair shall sit, and see their feet  
Wash'd by thy women; Didyme shall see<sup>v</sup>  
Her altars to another's care transferr'd.

These things fell upon the Milesians at that time; for the greater part of the men were killed by the Persians, who wear long hair; their women and children were made slaves, and the sacred inclosure at Didyme, with the temple and inmost shrine *from which the oracle was delivered* were pillaged and burnt. The great riches deposited in this place we have already mentioned.

<sup>r</sup> *Καραύσας*. This word cannot imply actually *sunk*, as it is evident from several passages, and especially Thucyd. i. 50. where it is translated *lacerare* by some commentators. The ancient method of attack might easily account for the use of the term.

<sup>s</sup> *Κατ' ἄκρον*. This expression is frequently used by Homer and Thucydides.

It properly signifies *a vertice, a capite, ab arce*; and is used of a city which is completely taken. Schweigh.

<sup>t</sup> See ch. 77. of this book.

<sup>v</sup> For an account of the temple of Branchidæ at Didyme, see note to book v. ch. 36. A similar construction occurs in Soph. Œd. Tyr. ver. 119. *τὸν Ἀβαυσιναόν*. Wesseling.



XX. All the Milesian prisoners were conducted to Susa; from whence Darius, without any other ill usage, sent them to inhabit the city of Ampe<sup>u</sup>, situate near the mouth of the Tigris, not far from the place where that river falls into the Red sea. The Persians reserved to themselves the lands that lie about Miletus, with all the level country, and gave the Carians of Pedasa possession of the hills.

XXI. In this desolation, the Sybarites, who after their expulsion went to inhabit the cities of Laos and Scydrus, requited not the former kindness of the Milesians. For after the Crotonians had taken Sybaris<sup>x</sup>, the Milesians of every age shaved their heads, and gave public demonstrations of their sorrow; because these two cities had been more strictly united<sup>y</sup> in friendship than any other. But the Athenians behaved themselves in another manner, and many ways manifested that they were very much grieved at the taking of Miletus; particularly when Phrynichus<sup>z</sup> had composed a drama, the subject of which was the capture of Miletus, the whole theatre burst into tears at the representation, fined him a thousand drachmas for renewing the memory of a misfortune they took to be their own, and gave order that the piece should never more appear in public.

XXII. In this manner Miletus was rendered destitute of inhabitants. But the Samians who were of any consideration, not approving what their generals had done in favour of the Medes, assembled a council after the event of the battle at sea, and took a resolution to sail away and establish themselves as a colony elsewhere before the arrival of their tyrant Æaces, and not by continuing in Samos to become slaves to him and the Medes. In that conjuncture the Zancleæans, a people of Sicily, being desirous to have a city inhabited by Ionians, sent messengers to Ionia, with orders to solicit them to settle a colony in that part which faces Tuscany<sup>a</sup>, and is

<sup>u</sup> The situations of Ampe and of Opis, described in book i. ch. 189. have given occasion to some learned men to consider these two cities as one which had those two names: but Ampe was on the gulf itself, whereas Opis was a short distance from it. *Larcher.*

<sup>x</sup> See book v. ch. 44.

<sup>y</sup> The Sybarites, says Timæus, had their clothes made of the wool of Miletus. This was the cause of the friendship which existed between them. *Athen. Despnosoph. xii. p. 519.*

<sup>z</sup> The ancients speak of three of this name, all three Athenians and all three dramatic poets, the two first tragic, the third a comic writer. The most ancient

was the son of Polyphradmon; or according to some, of Minyras or Chorocles; or as some say, the father of Polyphradmon. He was the disciple of Thespis, and anterior to Æschylus, as may be inferred from Aristophanes, (*Ran. 910.*) The second was the son of Melanthus, and according to Suidas was the author of the drama called *The taking of Miletus*. But there is great reason to suppose that this Phrynichus is the same as the other, although Suidas distinguishes them. The third was contemporary with Alcibiades. *Bellanger.*

<sup>a</sup> In the Greek there is some little ambiguity. Ἔστι μὲν Σικελῶν is doubtful, for it might belong to the Sicilians and

called Calacte<sup>b</sup>. Upon this invitation the Samians, and such Milesians as had escaped by flight, were the only Ionians who went thither.

XXIII. During their voyage, and at the time of their landing in the country of the Epizephyrian<sup>c</sup> Locrians, the Zancleans<sup>d</sup>, with Scythes their king, were employed in the siege of a Sicilian city; which Anaxilaus<sup>e</sup> tyrant of Rhegium<sup>f</sup> and an enemy of the Zancleans, understanding, persuaded the Samians to leave alone Calacte, to which they were sailing, and to seize the city of Zancle, which had no one in it to defend it. The Samians were persuaded to do as he advised, and possessed themselves<sup>g</sup> of Zancle accordingly; which the Zancleans hearing, hastened to recover their city, and called to their assistance Hippocrates tyrant of Gela<sup>h</sup>, their ally. But Hippocrates arriving with his army, as if to assist them, threw in chains Scythes king of Zancle, who had lost his city, and his brother Pythogenes, and sent them to the city of Inycus<sup>i</sup>: after which, by an agreement made with the Samians, and confirmed on both sides by an oath, he betrayed the rest of the Zancleans, on condition to have one half of the slaves and plunder of the city, besides all that should be found in the country. Accordingly, Hippocrates put in chains the greater part of the Zancleans, and treated them as slaves;

yet not be in Sicily: therefore, since he had said *πρὸς δὲ Τυρσηνὴν τετραμμένη*, he adds, *τῆς Συκελίας*, in order to shew that it was in Sicily itself. *Schweigh.*

<sup>b</sup> This word signifies beautiful coast. The Latins called it Calacte. See Cicero *Orat.* iii. cont. verr. §. 43. and Silius *Italicus* xiv. ver. 251. *Larcher.*

<sup>c</sup> This name implies that they dwelt above the promontory of Zephyrium, in Bruttium, at the eastern side of the foot of Italy. The promontory is now called Capo Burzano. The town was built by the Opuntian Locrians, according to Ephorus, (*Strabo* vi. p. 397.) They were called Epizephyrian to distinguish them from the other Locrians. *Larcher.*

<sup>d</sup> Zancle was one of the most ancient cities of Sicily; it was situated on the strait which divides Italy from Sicily, nearly opposite Rhegium. This name was given it, because it was in the form of a sickle, which the Sicilians used to call *ζάγκλον*, (*Thucyd.* vi. 4.) It was afterwards called Messana or Messina, by Anaxilaus, king of Rhegium, who took it 494. B.C. in remembrance of his native country, Messenia. See *Thucyd.* vi. 4, 5.

<sup>e</sup> Anaxilaus was the son of Cretines

and married Cydippe daughter of Terillus, king of Himera. See book vii. 165. He abolished the Democracy of Rhegium, (*Arist. Polit.* v. 12.) and possessed himself of the sovereign power. *Larcher.*

<sup>f</sup> Now called Reggio. It derived its name from *ρήγνυμι*, *I break*, because it was supposed that Italy was at this place separated from Sicily by some convulsion of nature. It is well described by Virgil. *Æneid* iii. ver. 414.

<sup>g</sup> They were soon after expelled by Anaxilaus Tyrant of Rhegium. See *Thucyd.* vi. 5.

<sup>h</sup> Gela was on the southern coast of Sicily, on the western bank of the river Gelas. It was built by Antiphemus of Rhodes and Entimus of Crete. There is a small town called Terra Nuova, near the site of the ancient Gela, and the river Gelas is now called Fiume di Terra Nuova, from that town. See D'Orville's *Sicula*, pag. 127, &c. *Larcher.*

<sup>i</sup> It is impossible to determine the position of this city. I think, however, that I shall not be far from the truth if I place it on the western coast of the island, at the mouth of the Hypsa and eastward of Selinus. *Larcher.*



and delivered three hundred of the principal citizens to be put to death by the Samians; but they would not commit so cruel an action.

XXIV. Scythes king of the Zancleæans made his escape from Inycus to Himera<sup>k</sup>, and there embarking passed over into Asia to Darius, who thought him the most just of all the Grecians who had come up to his court. For Scythes, after he had made a voyage to Sicily with the king's leave, returned back to him again, and died among the Persians, very old and very rich. Thus the Samians at once escaped the yoke of the Medes, and without trouble made themselves masters of the very beautiful city of Zancle.

XXV. After the battle which was fought by sea for the possession of Miletus, the Phoenicians, by order of the Persians, conducted Æaces the son of Syloson to Samos, in recompence of his merits and service. This was the only city of all those that revolted from Darius which escaped with its houses and temples undestroyed; because the Samians had abandoned their allies in the engagement at sea. The Persians, after the reduction of Miletus, soon possessed themselves of Caria; partly by a voluntary submission of the inhabitants, and partly by force.

XXVI. While Histæus the Milesian continued about Byzantium, intercepting the trading ships of the Ionians in their passage from the Euxine, he received an account of all that had passed at Miletus; and leaving the care of his affairs on the Hellespont to Bisaltes of Abydos, the son of Apollonphanes, he took the Lesbians with him and sailed to Chios, where he engaged with a detachment of Chians in a place in Chios called Coeli<sup>l</sup>, and killed great numbers; and afterwards marching with the Lesbians from Polichna<sup>m</sup> in Chios, subdued the rest of the Chians, considerably weakened by the preceding fight at sea.

XXVII. The deity is wont<sup>n</sup> to give some previous signification or other, when any great calamities are about to fall upon any city or nation, and before these misfortunes great signs occurred to the Chians. For of a chorus of one hundred

<sup>k</sup> Himera was situated on the northern coast of Sicily, on the western bank of the river Himera. It was founded 649 B. C. by Euclides, Simus and Sacon, (Thucyd. vi. 5.) The warm springs in the neighbourhood have given it the name of Termini. *Larcher*.

<sup>l</sup> This word signifies cavities, hollow places. Meletius, Archbishop of Athens, in his Geography, pag. 407. thus describes the island. "This island is divided into two parts. The first is lofty

"and looks towards the west. In it we see mountains covered with wood, and deep and dark hollows, from which a great number of small rivers spring." Thus Coeli would be in the western part of the island. *Larcher*.

<sup>m</sup> I am of opinion that this is the proper title of the town. *Wesseling*.

<sup>n</sup> The verb *προσημαίνειν* may be used impersonally; or *ὁ θεός* may be understood. So in war, *σημαίνει*, the trumpet sounds. *Schweigh*.

young men they sent to Delphi, two only returned home, after they had lost ninety-eight of their companions by an infectious disorder. And a little before the battle at sea, a house in the city falling upon the heads of one hundred and twenty boys, as they were learning to read, killed all that number, except one. After these divine admonitions, the disaster of their fleet ensued, which brought the city to a humbled condition; and after the sea-fight Histæus with his Lesbians arrived, and as they were already exhausted, he easily subdued them.

XXVIII. From thence Histæus with a numerous army of Ionians and Æolians went to Thasus, and while he was besieging that place, received information, that the Phœnicians had left Miletus, with a design to invade the rest of Ionia. Upon which he left Thasus and passed over to Lesbos with all his forces; and from thence, because his army was in want of provisions, he crossed to the opposite shore to reap the corn which grew in Atarneis<sup>o</sup>, and the plain of Caicus which belongs to the Mysians. But Harpagus, a Persian general, being in those parts with a considerable army, fell upon him soon after his landing, killed most of his men upon the place, and took Histæus prisoner.

XXIX. Histæus was thus taken; whilst the Greeks made a long and vigorous resistance against the Persians at Malene in the district of Atarneis, the enemy's cavalry came pouring in upon them with such fury, that they put an end to the battle; when the Greeks had betaken themselves to flight, Histæus hoping the king would not put him to death for his offence, conceived a desire of preserving his life. For as he fled, and was overtaken by a Persian, who was on the point of stabbing him, he in the Persian language discovered himself to be Histæus the Milesian.

XXX. And I am of opinion<sup>p</sup>, that if he had been conducted alive to Darius, he would have suffered no punishment, but the king would have forgiven him his fault. But lest that should happen, and Histæus escaping, should again insinuate himself into the king's favour, Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, and Harpagus, whose prisoner he was, ordered

<sup>o</sup> Atarneis was a district of Mysia, opposite Lesbos, and had been given by the Persians to the Chians, because they had delivered up Pactyas; see book i. 160. It appears probable that after the Ionian revolt the Persians gave it to the Mysians. *Larcher*.

<sup>p</sup> This conjecture is founded on the bounty of Darius, who was always mindful of services, according to the Persian law. The crime of Histæus may certainly be considered great, but the ser-

vice he rendered the king and the Persians by preserving the bridge over the Danube was more than sufficient to redeem it. We might bring forward many other instances of the bounty and clemency of Darius, such as Democedes, Syloson, Coes, &c. He was very much incensed against the Milesians and Eretrians, but when he had them in his power, he was satisfied with removing their abode. *Valckenaer*.



him to be crucified at his arrival in that city, and sent his head embalmed to Darius at Susa. When the king was informed of this action, he expressed his discontent against the authors, because they had not brought Histiaëus alive to his presence; and commanded his head to be washed, and decently interred, as the remains of a man, who had been a great benefactor to himself and the Persians. Thus died Histiaëus.

XXXI. The Persian fleet, which wintered at Miletus, easily subdued in the following year Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos, islands lying near the continent; and in every one of these, when the Barbarians had possessed themselves of the place, they took the inhabitants in a net. For taking one another by the hand, and forming a line, from the north to the south side, they marched over the island, and hunted out all the inhabitants. They took the Ionian cities on the continent with the same ease; but attempted not to inclose the inhabitants in the same manner, because that was impossible.

XXXII. After they had done this, the Persian generals made good the menacing messages they had sent to the Ionians, when the two armies were in view. For upon the reduction of the Ionian cities, they made eunuchs of the handsomest of the youth, sent the most beautiful virgins to the king, and burnt the private houses and temples. Thus the Ionians were the third time conquered; first by the Lydians, and twice following by the Persians.

XXXIII. The Persian fleet having left Ionia, reduced the places situate on the left hand of those who sail into the Hellespont; for all the countries that lie on the right, and were on the continent had already been subdued by the Persians. The European side of the Hellespont contains the following places, the Chersonese, on which are many cities, Perinthus, Selybrie, Byzantium, and divers walled towns of Thrace. The Byzantians, with the Chalcedonians who are situated on the opposite shore, would not wait the coming of the Phœnician fleet; but leaving their habitations, and flying to the Euxine, built the city of Mesambria on that sea. In the mean time the Phœnicians burnt the places I have mentioned, and sailing to Proconnesus and Artace, set fire to these likewise; after which they returned to the Chersonese, in order to destroy all those cities they had not plundered at their first landing. Against Cyzicum they did not sail at all, because the Cyziceniens had voluntarily submitted to the king before the arrival of the Phœnicians, having already capitulated with Cebares the son of Megabyzus, prefect of Dascylium. The rest of the Chersonesian cities were subdued by the Phœnicians, except Cardia.

XXXIV. These cities were till that time under the do-

minion of Miltiades the son of Cimon and grandson of Stesagoras, and had been formerly acquired by Miltiades the son of Cypselus in the following manner. The Thracian Dolonci formerly possessed that part of the Chersonese, who being hard pressed in war by the Apsynthians, sent their kings to inquire of the Delphian oracle concerning the event; and were admonished by the Pythian, to invite that man to found a colony in their country, who after their departure from the temple should first offer them hospitality. Accordingly the Dolonci passing by the *sacred way*<sup>a</sup> through the territories of the Phocæans and Boeotians, and receiving no offer of entertainment, turned into the road to Athens.

XXXV. In that time Pisistratus had indeed the supreme power; but Miltiades the son of Cypselus was not without authority in Athens; he was of a family which maintained four horses for the games<sup>r</sup>, and was anciently descended from Æacus and Ægina, but afterwards became an Athenian, Philæus the son of Ajax<sup>s</sup>, being the first of that blood who settled there. This Miltiades sitting before his gates, and seeing the Dolonci passing by, clothed and armed in a different manner from the Athenians, called out to them; and upon their coming to him, offered them a lodging and hospitality. They accepted his invitation; and after they had been hospitably entertained, acquainted him with the oracle, and requested him to act in conformity to the admonition of the god. Miltiades hearkened to their proposition, and complied with more readiness, because he grew impatient of the government of Pisistratus, and desired an opportunity to withdraw. In these sentiments he went to Delphi to consult the oracle, whether he should yield to the request of the Dolonci.

XXXVI. The Pythian having also ordered him, then at length Miltiades the son of Cypselus, who had formerly been victorious in the Olympian<sup>t</sup> chariot-race, taking with him all such Athenians as were willing to join in his expedition, set sail with the Dolonci; and arriving in their country was invested with the sovereign power. This first thing he did was

<sup>a</sup> A very celebrated way, leading from Athens to Eleusis is mentioned in Pausan. i. 36. and Athenæus xiii. p. 594. This one, however, is probably that by which the Athenians accompanied the sacred procession to Delphi. *Wesseling*.

<sup>r</sup> That is as much as to say, he was very rich; for Attica being a barren country and but little adapted to pasturage, the keeping of horses was very expensive, and it was necessary to be rich to do so. See the beginning of the *Clouds* of Aristophanes. *Larcher*.

<sup>s</sup> Pherecydes (Marcellin. Vit. Thucyd. init.) calls him Philæas, and makes him the son of Ajax, as do Herodotus, Plutarch, (in Solone. tom. i. pag. 83.) and Stephens of Byzantium. Pausanias says, however, that he was his grandson, (i. 35.) There are some difficulties with respect to the descent of Miltiades from this person, which are stated by Larcher in a note of considerable length.

<sup>t</sup> We do not know in what year to place this victory, *Larcher*.



to build a wall upon<sup>a</sup> the isthmus of the Chersonese, from the city of Cardia to that of Pactya, in order to prevent the Apsynthians from infesting the country for the future with their incursions. The isthmus is thirty-six stades in breadth; and the whole length of the Chersonese, beginning in that place, is four hundred and twenty stades.

XXXVII. When Miltiades had built this wall on the neck of the Chersonese, and by that means excluded the Apsynthians, he in the next place made war upon the Lampsaceni-ans; and falling into an ambuscade, was taken alive by the enemy. But Croesus the Lydian being familiarly acquainted<sup>\*</sup> with him, and hearing this event, dispatched a messenger to Lampsacus, ordering them to set Miltiades at liberty, and to threaten, if they refused to comply, that he would crush them as pines. The Lampsaceni-ans being in uncertainty about the meaning of the menace sent by Croesus, *that he would crush them as pines*, were at length informed by an old man, who, having perceived the sense of those words, acquainted them that the pine alone of all trees perishes entirely<sup>y</sup> when cut down, and does not send forth any more shoots; upon which the Lampsaceni-ans, dreading the power of Croesus, set Miltiades at liberty.

XXXVIII. Thus having escaped by the means of Croesus, and afterwards dying without children, he left his dominion and riches to Stesagoras the son of Cimon, his brother by the same mother. The Chersonesians honour him with sacrifices, as is usual to a founder<sup>z</sup>, and have instituted gymnastic and equestrian exercises on that occasion, in which no Lampsaceni-an is permitted to contend for the prize. During the war, which still continued against the people of Lampsacus, Stesa-

<sup>a</sup> In those times, when they knew not how any place, by its situation or garrison, could check the incursions of an enemy, they only used to oppose his irruptions by a wall, which, by shutting in the country, might afford shelter. The Emperor Justinian afterwards repaired this wall and endeavoured by additional fortifications to exclude the Thracians. (See Procop. de Ædific. Justiniani, iv. 10.) The Romans had before made use of this method to protect the Britons; I allude to the wall of Severus, which extended from Tinmouth to Solway Frith. The Chinese, still less skilled, than the Romans in the art of fortifying places, could not devise any other means to protect themselves from the incursions of the Tartars, than by raising that immense wall, which is called the great wall. It was thus also, that the Greeks under Manuel Palæologus sheltered the Pello-

ponnese from the invasion of the Turks. Larcher.

<sup>\*</sup> *Ἦν δὲ ὁ Μιλτιάδης Κροίσῳ τῷ Ἀνδρῶν ἐν γνώμῃ γεγονώς.* This is translated by Coray, "Miltiades etoit aimé de Crésus;" and he supposes it to be synonymous with *κατὰ γόνον εἶναι*, which Herodotus uses, ix. 110. In this he is followed by Larcher. Schweighæuser supposes *ἐν γνώμῃ γεγονώς* to be the same as *γνώριμος*, well known and familiar with.

<sup>y</sup> The pine is not the only tree which dies, when cut down. The circumstance is mentioned by Aulus Gellius, (Noct. Attic. viii. 4.) This expression afterwards became a proverb. Such allegories were very common among the ancients. See Arist. Rhet. ii. 17. §. 3. and iii. 6.

<sup>z</sup> The people of Amphipolis paid the same honours to Brasidas. See Thucyd. v. 11.

goras likewise died without children : being killed by the blow of an axe he received on the head from the hand of one, who pretended to be a deserter, but was in fact too crafty an enemy.

XXXIX. Stesagoras having perished in that manner, the Pisistratidæ sent Miltiades, the son of Cimon, and brother of Stesagoras, to the Chersonese, with one ship, to take upon him the government ; having been already favourable to him in Athens, as if they had not had any part in the murder of his father Cimon ; the particulars of which I will relate in another place<sup>a</sup>. Arriving in Chersonese, he kept himself retired, under colour of honouring the memory of his brother Stesagoras ; which the Chersonesites hearing, the principal persons of every city assembled together ; and coming to his house, with intentions to condole with him, were all seized and imprisoned. And thus Miltiades kept possession of the Chersonese, maintaining five hundred auxiliaries for his guard ; and married Hegesipyla<sup>b</sup>, daughter to Olorus king of Thrace.

XL. This Miltiades, therefore, the son of Cimon had lately arrived in the Chersonese ; and, after his arrival, greater difficulties, than his present circumstances, befel him. For in the third year<sup>c</sup> before these things, he fled out of the country, not daring to wait the coming of the Scythian Nomades, who having been irritated by the expedition of Darius, had assembled their forces, and advanced as far as this Chersonese. Nevertheless, upon the departure of the Scythians, he was conducted back by the Dolonci : these things happened in the third year before the present affairs.

XLI. Miltiades having then learnt that the Phœnicians were at Tenedos, put all his riches on board five of the

<sup>a</sup> See chap. 103.

<sup>b</sup> This princess, after the death of Miltiades, married an Athenian of rank. She gave the name of Olorus to a son she had by this man, after her father. Thucydides was the son of this Olorus, and therefore his great grandfather was king of Thrace. These alliances of the Athenians with the most illustrious families of Thrace, induced them to tell Seuthes that he knew the Athenians were relations. (Xenoph. Anab. vii. 2.) None can be ignorant that Sadocus, son of Sitaces, king of the Odrysi, and the most powerful prince of that country, became a citizen of Athens. Thucyd. ii. 29. Larcher.

<sup>c</sup> Τὰ κατέχοντα πρήγματα, ἃ τότε μιν κατελάμβανε, the present things which then occupied him, (or happened to him,) are doubtless those things which our

author in ch. 33. had begun to mention, before he made this digression concerning the former Miltiades, the first king of the Chersonese, and which he proceeds to explain in ch. 41. Τρίτῳ ἔτει τούτων, by itself, may signify the third year after, but from what is joined to it, it may be easily seen that it signifies the third year before ; as is plainly stated at the end of the chapter. The things which happened to him the third year before, were χαλεπώτερα, more sad than the things which now befel him. For, at the present time, as is related in the following chapter, he fled to Athens with his wealth, and only lost one ship, with his son, who was well treated by the Persians ; but the third year before he was compelled to fly from the Chersonese and go into exile. Schweigh.



triremes that were at hand, and sailed for Athens. He set out from Cardia and sailed through the gulf of Melas, and as he was going past the Chersonese, the Phœnician fleet fell in with his ships, and took one of the five, commanded by Metiochus, his eldest son, though born of another woman, and not of the daughter of Olorus king of Thrace; whilst he with the other four escaped to Imbros. The Phœnicians understanding that the captain of the ship they had taken was the son of Miltiades, conducted him to the king, in hope of meriting his favour in a peculiar manner, because Miltiades had formerly endeavoured to persuade the Ionian generals to comply with the Scythians, when they were desired to break the bridge and return home. But Darius, after the Phœnicians had taken up to him Metiochus the son of Miltiades, was so far from doing him any hurt, that on the contrary he conferred great benefits upon him. For he presented him with a house and lands, and gave him a Persian wife, by whom he had children, who were enrolled among the Persians.

LXII. In the mean time Miltiades arrived at Athens from Imbros, and during that year the Persians attempted no farther hostilities<sup>d</sup> against the Ionians: on the contrary, the following things were done which were very much to their advantage. For Artaphernes governor of Sardis, having sent for deputies from each city, compelled the Ionians to enter into mutual engagements to observe justice, and to desist from committing depredations one upon another. After which he measured their lands by parasangs, (the Persian name for thirty stades,) and settled the tribute they should pay, in proportion to the extent of their territories. This regulation established by Artaphernes, being little different from that which they were under before, continued to be observed by the inhabitants in our time. These things tended to produce tranquillity among them.

XLIII. In the beginning of the next spring, after the king had recalled his generals, Mardonius the son of Gobryas<sup>e</sup>, a young man, who had newly married Artozostira the daughter of Darius, marched down to the coast, with numerous forces to be employed both by land and by sea<sup>f</sup>; and embarking in Cilicia, set sail with the fleet, while the other generals led the land army to the Hellespont. When he had passed the coast of Asia, and had arrived in Ionia, he did an action, which will

<sup>d</sup> Νῆκος signifies *war* in Homer frequently, and also in Herodotus, vii. 158. Wesseling.

<sup>e</sup> Gobryas was one of the seven conspirators that dethroned the Magus. Mardonius (Diodorus Sic. xi. 1.) was

the cousin of Xerxes.

<sup>f</sup> Isaac Casaubon rightly interprets *ναυτικὸν στρατὸν*, fit to embark in ships. For it was impossible for Mardonius to take the ships from Persia to Cilicia. Wesseling.

be a matter of very great astonishment to those Grecians, who cannot believe that Otanes delivered his opinion to the seven Persians, that it was right for the Persians to be governed by a democracy. For Mardonius deposed all the Ionian tyrants, and settled a popular government in every city. After which he departed to the Hellespont; and having there assembled a great army, with a numerous fleet, passed over that sea into Europe, and turned his march towards Eretria and Athens.

XLIV. The reduction of these places<sup>g</sup> was indeed the pretext of their enterprize; but they really intended no less than to subdue all the Grecian cities they could. For with their fleet they reduced the Thasians without resistance, and with their land forces enslaved the Macedonians<sup>h</sup>, without reckoning those who were before subjected; for all the nations on this side<sup>i</sup> Macedonia were already under their power. From Thasus their fleet stood over to the continent, and coasted along the shore to Acanthus; but as they were endeavouring to double the cape of mount Athos, a violent and irresistible north wind came upon them, and roughly treated very many of their ships by dashing them against Athos. The general report is, that they lost by this disaster three hundred ships, and upwards of twenty thousand men; many of these being devoured by monstrous marine animals which abound in that sea, many dashed in pieces on the rocks, while some who could not swim perished in the water, and some who could swim perished with cold.

XLV. In the mean time Mardonius encamping with his army in Macedonia, was attacked in the night by the Brygi<sup>k</sup>, a people of Thrace, who killed great numbers of his men, and wounded Mardonius himself. Nevertheless they could not preserve themselves from falling under the power of the Persians; but were subdued by Mardonius before he quitted those parts: and then, considering the loss he had received from the Brygi, and the greater disaster of his fleet at mount Athos, he thought fit to retire; and accordingly repassed into Asia with his forces, after an unsuccessful expedition.

<sup>g</sup> Revenge against Athens and Eretria for the insult at Sardis, was the avowed purpose of this formidable armament. But, considering all the best information remaining to us of the character of Darius and of the circumstances of the times, it appears highly probable that the same necessity for employing restless spirits, which had urged the Scythian expedition, was the principal motive also to the permission of this enterprize. Mitford,

ch. vii. 3.

<sup>h</sup> A part of Macedonia had given earth and water to the Persians, as we have seen in the preceding book, ch. 18. Larcher.

<sup>i</sup> This must be understood in reference to the Persians.

<sup>k</sup> A part of this people was transported into Asia, and peopled Phrygia, to which they gave their name, the *B* being changed into *Ph*. Larcher.



**XLVI.** In the second year after these events, Darius, being informed by the neighbours of the Thasians that they designed to revolt, dispatched a messenger to command them to demolish their walls, and to send away their ships to Abdera. For the Thasians, who had been besieged by Histæus the Milesian, and wanted not considerable revenues, applied their riches to the building of ships of war, and fortifying their city with a stronger wall. Their revenues arose partly from the continent<sup>l</sup>, and partly from their mines: those of Scapte-Hyle<sup>m</sup>, which were of gold, producing at least<sup>n</sup> eighty talents yearly, and those of Thasus something less; yet in such a quantity, that not paying taxes on the produce of their lands, the Thasians usually received in all two hundred talents yearly from the continent and from the mines; and when the greatest quantity came in, three hundred.

**XLVII.** I myself have seen these mines; of which the most wonderful are those found by the Phœnicians, who accompanied Thasus, when he settled in this island, and gave his name to the country. These Phœnician mines are in Thasus itself between two places, one of which is called Ænyri, and the other, Cænyri, where a great mountain, which fronted Samothracia, has been overturned in the search. Such is the state of things there. The Thasians in obedience to the king demolished their walls, and took all their ships to Abdera.

**XLVIII.** After which Darius resolving to try the intentions of the Greeks, whether they would submit or make war against him, sent his heralds into divers parts of Greece to demand earth and water in his name; and when he had done this, dispatched other messengers to the tributary cities on the coast, with orders to build ships of war, and transports for horses.

**XLIX.** Whilst these preparations were carried on, many people of the continent made their submission to the Persian in the manner required by his heralds; and all the other islanders<sup>o</sup>, and the Æginetæ, delivered the usual present of earth and water in testimony of obedience. Immediately after

<sup>l</sup> Thucydides (i. 100.) informs us that the Thasians had some valuable mines and lands on the opposite coasts of Thrace.

<sup>m</sup> *The dug or mined wood.*

<sup>n</sup> Without the particle γέ the reasoning is not correct. For if the produce of the mines in the island is not so considerable as those of Scapte-Hyle, and those of Scapte-Hyle only produce eighty talents, how can the two together amount to 200 or 300 talents? The reasoning

depends entirely on the particle γέ; I am however of opinion, that we ought to comprehend in this calculation the produce of the lands of the island and continent. *Larcher.*

<sup>o</sup> Herodotus says *all* the islands; but he afterwards (vii. 46.) excepts the little islands of Seriphos, Siphnos and Melos. Apparently he should also have excepted Eubœa and Crete, or at least most of their towns. *Mitford, ch. vii. 3.*

this, the Athenians threatened them, as they suspected that this act of the Æginetæ was aimed at them, in order that they might march against them, in conjunction with the Persians; and readily taking the opportunity, sent to Sparta, and accused the Æginetæ as betraying Greece by that act.

L. Upon this complaint Cleomenes the son of Anaxandrides, at that time king of Sparta, passed over to Ægina, with intention to seize the principal persons concerned in that action; and endeavouring to put his design in execution, met with opposition from many of the Æginetæ, but chiefly from Crius the son of Polycritus, who told him plainly, that he should not carry off any one of the inhabitants with impunity; that he came to make this attempt without the consent of the Spartans, being persuaded by Athenian money; and that if things had not been so, the other king of Sparta would have accompanied him on this occasion: which words were spoken by Crius upon a private message he had received from Demaratus. When Cleomenes was thus forced to retire, he asked Crius his name; and after Crius had informed him, said, "Tip therefore<sup>p</sup>, O Ram, your horns with brass; since you are about to meet with a great calamity."

LI. Demaratus the son of Ariston was likewise king of Sparta at the same time with Cleomenes; and staying at home aspersed the conduct of his colleague. He was indeed of the inferior branch; but as they were both descended from the same stock, it was only inferior, since the family of the Eurysthenes was more honoured, on account of its being the elder.

LII. The Lacedæmonians, differing from all the poets, affirm, that they were not conducted into the region they now possess by the sons of Aristodemus<sup>q</sup>; but by their king Ari-

<sup>p</sup> Κρῖος in Greek signifies a ram. Thus Cicero ridicules Verres, (ii. in Verrem, ch. 78.) "Videtis Verrutium? videtis primas literas integras? videtis extremam partem nominis, caudam illam Verris tanquam in luto demersam esse in liturâ." Many more examples are collected by Valckenaer. See his note.

<sup>q</sup> About 80 years after the destruction of Troy, (Thucyd. i. 12.) a great revolution happened, which changed the population of a large part of Greece, and, in its consequences, that of a long extent of the western coast of Asia Minor. The children and partizans of the great Hercules had been invited from Athens, their first place of refuge from Eurystheus, to settle in Doris. Æpalus, chief of that

province, in gratitude for important favours received from Hercules, is said to have adopted Hyllus, eldest son of that hero, by Deianeira, and to have bequeathed his principality to him. Being thus raised from the condition of exiles to that of princes, the posterity of Hercules were not satisfied with a command in the wilds of Eta and Parnassus. Esteeming themselves direct heirs of the family of Perseus, they never ceased to claim the dominion of Peloponnesus, and particularly of Argos, of which they had been deprived by the Pelopids. Twice penetrating through the isthmus, they were compelled to retreat with loss. But at length Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, said to be great-grandsons of Hyllus, associating Oxylus, an Ætolian chieftain,



stodemus himself, who was the son of Aristomachus; grandson of Cleodæus, and great grandson to Hyllus; that in a little time after their arrival, Argia<sup>r</sup> the wife of Aristodemus, and daughter, as they say, to Autesion the son of Tisamenes, whose father was Thersander the son of Polynices, brought him two male children at a birth, which he had no sooner seen than he died by sickness; that the Lacedæmonians of that day, resolved after a consultation to make the eldest child king, according to custom; but they did not however know which to choose, since they were alike and of the same size. Being unable to discover, they at length, or perhaps before<sup>s</sup>, asked the mother; she replied, that she herself was unable to tell, although she knew very well, but was desirous that both, if possible, might be made kings; that the Lacedæmonians continuing still in doubt, sent to inquire of the oracle at Delphi, how they should act in this case. The Pythian, they add, exhorted them to receive both for their kings; but to pay the greatest honours to the eldest: that after this answer they were in no less perplexity than before, till one Panites a Messenian advised the Lacedæmonians to observe which of the two children the mother would first wash and feed; assuring them, that if she was constant to the same method, they might be certain of the thing they so much desired to know; but if she should vary in her manner, and apply her care indifferently to both, they ought to believe she knew more than they did, and must endeavour to find out some other expedient. The Spartans, in pursuance of his advice, watched the mother of the children of Aristodemus, who had no suspicion of their design, and found that she constantly preferred the elder both in washing and feeding. They therefore took the child, which had been so honoured by its parent, as if it was the eldest, and educated it in public; they named

their kinsman, crossed the Corinthian gulf from Naupactus, at the head of an army, with which, excepting the mountainous province of Arcadia, they overran the whole peninsula. Tisamenus, son of Orestes, forced from Argolis and Laconia, made however a stand in Ægialeia; and maintaining himself there, the country acquired from his followers the name of Achaia. Of the rest the Heracleids became complete masters. Temenus took possession of Argos, Cresphontes of Messenia, and, Aristodemus dying, his twin-sons Eurysthenes and Procles were made joint kings of Lacedæmon: Corinth was given to Aletes, also a descendant of Hercules, and Eleia was allotted to Oxylus. Sicyon and Phlius were after-

wards added to the Argian dominion; the former by Phalces, son of Temenus; the other by Rhegnidas, son of Phalces. Mitford's Greece, ch. iii. sect. 1.

<sup>r</sup> Argia was the sister of Theras, who was the uncle and tutor of Eurysthenes and Procles; see book iv. ch. 147. She was descended in a direct line from Cadmus. Larcher.

<sup>s</sup> This is translated by Larcher, "ne pouvant pas plus qu'auparavant distinguer." He follows Wesseling, and understands μάλλον before ἢ καὶ πρὸ τούτων. I have followed Schweighæuser. Τὸ κάπρᾱ signifies *vel maxime, quam maxime*, as in i. 71. 5. iii. 104. 14. vii. 16. 24.

him Eurysthenes, and gave the name of Procles to the younger. These two brothers, after they had attained the age of men, could never agree during all the time of their lives; and their descendants lived in the same enmity<sup>†</sup>.

LIII. The Lacedæmonians are the only people of Greece who report these things; but I must not omit to mention what the rest of the Grecians say on this subject. They affirm then, that all the Dorian kings up to Perseus the son of Danae, without comprehending the Deity, are rightly enumerated<sup>‡</sup> by the Greeks, and rightly proved to be Greeks; for at that time they were enrolled among the Greeks: I say, up to Perseus<sup>\*</sup>, and go no higher; because he had no surname derived from a mortal father, as Hercules had from Amphytrion; and therefore I have had reason in only saying up to Perseus; but if we were to trace the line of their male ancestors from Danae, the daughter of Acrisius we should find that the leaders of the Dorians were originally natives of Egypt: and this is the genealogy which the Greeks give.

LIV. Nevertheless, the received opinion among the Persians is, that Perseus being an Assyrian by birth, became a Greek by settling in Greece, which none of his ancestors had ever done. But that the ancestors of Acrisius, at any rate, were in no way related to Perseus, but were Egyptians, as the Grecians themselves own.

LV. And this I think sufficient to say concerning these things; forbearing to mention how, and by the performance of what actions they, who were Egyptians, became kings of the Dorians, because others have related that transaction; but I will make mention of those particulars which others have not touched upon.

LVI. To begin, the Spartans have conferred the following privileges upon their kings. In the first place, two priest-

<sup>†</sup> What Livy writes, xl. 8. "*sociabilem consortionem inter binos Lacedæmoniorum reges salutarem per multa secula ipsis fuisse patriæque*," is not at variance with our author. For although they disagreed in private, yet they most frequently agreed in effecting the public good; or in a praise-worthy manner contended which should most serve his country, as Aristides says viii. 79. *Valckenaer*.

<sup>‡</sup> *Καταλεγόμενους* and *ἀποδεικνυμένους* are put for infinitives. *Schweigh.* See Matthiæ's Greek Grammer, §. 550. Obs. 4.

<sup>\*</sup> Perseus, according to a remark of Le Clerc on Hesiod Theog. v. 280. is a Phœnician word, and signifies a knight. Thus it is both an epithet and a proper

name. It suits Perseus, in relation to his horse Pegasus. One reason prevents me from adopting this Phœnician etymology, which is, that Perseus had a son named Perses, who gave his name to the Persians. See Herod. vii. 61. *Bellanger*.

If the tradition related by Herodotus, vii. 61. is true, that is, if Perseus was the son of Danae and Jupiter, and if he had by Andromache a son named Perses, who gave his name to the Persians, the Greeks and Persians are agreed as to his father and mother, but not as to his grandfather and his ancestors: if the Persians will exclude Acrisius and the rest from any connection with Perseus, Danae must be of Assyrian and Persian descent. *Wesseling*.



hoods, of the Lacedæmonian and the Celestial Jupiter,<sup>y</sup> may lead an army against any country they please; and no Spartan may place an impediment in their way, under penalty of incurring the guilt of impiety: when they march out to war, the kings must march at the head of the troops, and retire last: in the field they have a hundred chosen men<sup>z</sup> for their guard: they sacrifice as many cattle as they please, during the expeditions, and the skins with the chine belong to them. These honours they have in times of war.

LVII. Other privileges of the following kind are given them in peace. If any one make a public sacrifice<sup>a</sup> the kings sit first at the feast; are first served, and each receives a double allowance<sup>b</sup> of whatever is given to the rest of the company. They make the first libation, and receive the skins of the victims. Every new moon, and seventh day of every month<sup>c</sup>, a perfect victim is presented to each of them, at the public charge, to be sacrificed at the temple of Apollo; and a medimnus of meal, and a Laconian quart of wine. They have the chief places<sup>d</sup> at all public games, and the privilege of appointing such citizens as they please to be Proxeni;<sup>e</sup> and also of choosing each two Pythii. The Pythii<sup>f</sup> are messengers who are sent to consult the oracle of Delphi, and have their provision with the kings at the public charge. When the kings are not present at supper, two choenices of flour, with a cotyle of wine, are sent home to each; but when they are present, they receive a double portion of every thing. And if they are invited to sup with

<sup>y</sup> Herodotus is the only author where we find Jupiter worshipped under this title; and therefore nothing certain can be said on the subject. I am of opinion that *Λακεδαίμων* is *Jupiter tonans*, which comes from *λακείν*, *sonare*, and therefore it is the same as *ὑψιβρεμετης*. Larcher.

<sup>z</sup> Thucydides, who was well informed on the subject of the Spartan government, says that they had three hundred. See book v. 72. also note on book vii. ch. 205.

<sup>a</sup> This may appear not to suit with a private individual, but perhaps the magistrate is meant, whose office it was to superintend the sacrifices. But *θυσίη δημοτελής* may mean a sacrifice of an individual to which he invites his countrymen, or those of the same tribe. Schweigh.

<sup>b</sup> This is an ancient custom frequently mentioned by Homer. Xenophon very well observes (de Republ. Lacedæn. xv. 4.) that Lycurgus assigned a double portion to the king, not that they might eat twice as much as anybody else, but that they might give it to him who appeared

deserving. Larcher.

<sup>c</sup> *Ἐβδόμας ἱσταμένον τοῦ μηνός*. The months of the ancients, which consisted of thirty days, were divided into three parts. The first ten days were *μηνός ἱσταμένον*, or *ἀρχομένου*; the second *μηνός μεσοῦντος*; and the third *μηνός φθίνοντος*, or *πανομένου*, or *λήγοντος*. See Potter's Archæol. Græc. book i. ch. 26. fin.

<sup>d</sup> When the king appeared (Xenoph. Rep. Lac. xv. 6.) every one rose up out of reverence, except the Ephori, whose office was in some respect superior to the royal dignity, since it was first established to limit it. Larcher.

<sup>e</sup> *Ξένος* is a person who receives into his house a friend on a journey, &c. or is received when journeying himself. *Προξένος* is the person who is appointed by the State to receive the ambassadors and deputies of princes and towns. The Proxenus not only lodged them, but also introduced them at the public assemblies. Larcher.

<sup>f</sup> See also Xenophon de Rep. Lac. xv. 5.

private persons, they are treated with the same honours: They have the keeping of all prophecies, which they are obliged to communicate to the Pythians. But the kings alone decide upon the following affairs only. They have the power of determining who ought to marry those heiresses, who have not been betrothed during the lives of their fathers. They have the care of the public highways: and if any man desires to adopt a child<sup>g</sup>, he is obliged to perform that act before the kings. They assist at the deliberations of the senate, which consists of twenty-eight senators; and if they are absent, those senators who are most nearly connected with them, enjoy their privileges, and have two votes<sup>h</sup> besides their own.

LVIII. These advantages are conferred by the republic of Sparta upon their kings while they live; those which follow, when they are dead. Horsemen are dispatched through all Laconia to notify their death; but in the city, women go about beating a cauldron; when this is accordingly done, it is necessary for two free people of each house, a man and a woman, to disfigure themselves from sorrow: heavy fines are imposed on them, if they do not do so. The Lacedæmonians have the same custom with regard to the deaths of their kings, as the barbarians of Asia, who, for the most part, vary nothing from the Spartans in the performance of these ceremonies. For upon the death of a Lacedæmonian king, besides the Spartans<sup>i</sup>, a certain number<sup>k</sup> of those who dwell around<sup>l</sup> are obliged to come from all Laconia to attend the funerals: and when many thousands of these are met together,

<sup>g</sup> The custom of adoption among the Romans was much more frequent than among the Greeks, though borrowed of the latter by the former. In Greece, an eunuch could not adopt a child; and it was necessary that the person adopted should be eighteen years younger than the person who adopted him. In Rome, the ceremony of adoption was performed before the prætor, or before an assembly of the people. In the times of the emperors, the permission of the prince was sufficient. *Beloe*.

<sup>h</sup> Thucydides (l. 20.) says the contrary. We must presume that this author had some reason for what he says. Lucian (*Harmonid.* iii. tom. 1. p. 855.) also says, that they had each two votes, but he may perhaps affirm it upon the authority of Herodotus. The Scholiast, on the passage in Thucydides, reconciles the difference by saying that they gave but one vote, but it had the effect of two. *Larcher*.

<sup>i</sup> *Χωρίς Σπαρτιηρέων*: this signifies, without counting the Spartans. Wesseling appears to have been of a different opinion, since Lycurgus interdicted (*Plutarch. Instit. Laconic.* p. 238.) the Spartans from weeping and lamentations: but I think that the prohibition only refers to the loss of an individual, and not to a loss which interested the whole State. *Larcher*. It is also evident, from what follows, that the Spartans lamented his death. *Schweigh*.

<sup>k</sup> *Ἀριθμῶ* signifies in a certain, determined number. See Valckenaer's note.

<sup>l</sup> *Οἱ περιούκοι*. Heinsius supposes that these are the same as the Helots; but he is mistaken. Herodotus clearly distinguishes them in ix. 28.; for the five thousand Lacedæmonians of which he speaks, must be Perioeci. They were not freed Helots, as is evident from Xenophon, (*Hellen.* i. 3. 10.) But they are always mentioned in opposition to the Spartiates, and we must understand by



with the Helots and Spartans themselves, they eagerly beat themselves, both men and women, crowded together, and incessantly howl, affirming that the last king was the best they ever had. If one of their kings die in war, his effigy is prepared, and exposed to public view, placed on a couch richly ornamented. When they have buried him, they do not meet in the public place for ten days, nor does the assembly of magistrates sit, but they mourn during that time.

LIX. They agree in this other respect with the Persians; when a king dies, and the successor enters upon the administration, he remits whatever debts may be due from any Spartan to the king, or the public; and so also the king of Persia, at his accession to the throne, discharges all the cities from the arrears of tribute.

LX. In this respect also the Lacedæmonians resemble the Egyptians<sup>m</sup>; for every herald, musician, and cook, takes upon him the profession of his father; so that a musician begets a musician; one cook begets another; and the son of a herald is always of the same profession; no man, applying himself to that office on account of the clearness of his voice, excludes another; but, on the contrary, every one continues to exercise his father's art. And such is the account of these things.

LXI. Whilst Cleomenes continued at Ægina, endeavouring to promote the common cause of Greece, Demaratus accused him at home; not so much out of kindness to the Æginetæ, as from motives of envy and jealousy. But Cleomenes upon his return, resolved to deprive Demaratus of the kingdom, and made the following circumstance the foundation<sup>n</sup> of his design. When Ariston reigned in Sparta, he married two wives, and had no child by either; but not acknowledging any defect in himself, he married a third in this manner. He had a friend, who was a Spartan, to whom he was more attached than to any other citizen. The wife of this man was by far the most beautiful woman of all Sparta, and though she was in her infancy very ugly, had become most beautiful<sup>o</sup>. For her nurse perceiving her deformity, and knowing her to be the daughter of opulent<sup>p</sup> persons, and that her parents

the term, all the inhabitants of Laconia, with the exception of Sparta. *Larcher*. In Crete all the lower orders, including the slaves who cultivated the lands, were called Perioeci.

<sup>m</sup> See Diodorus Siculus, i. 74. Herodotus mentions that the custom prevailed with regard to soldiers. See book ii. ch. 165 and 166.

<sup>n</sup> *Ἐπιβασίς*, fundamentum quo quis

insistit. i. e. argumentum quo quis nititur. *Schweigh. Lex.*

<sup>o</sup> Pausanias (Laconic. vii. p. 220.) relates the same story.

<sup>p</sup> Since the lands of Laconia were equally divided among all the citizens, and gold and silver were proscribed in the Republic of Sparta, under pain of death, how was it possible that there should be any rich men? Avarice, more

considered her form a great misfortune, resolved to carry her every day to the temple of Helen, which is built in Therapne, above the temple of Apollo. When she carried the child to the temple, she stood before the image of the goddess, and entreated her to remove the deformity of the child. The common report is, that as the nurse was one day going out of the temple, a woman appeared to her, and asked what she had in her arms: that the nurse answered, she carried an infant; which when the woman desired to see, the nurse refused to comply, because the parents had commanded her to shew the child to none: the woman however begged her by all means to shew it her, and at length the nurse complied; upon which she stroked the head of the child with her hands, and said she should become the most beautiful woman of Sparta; and from that day her appearance began to change. When she had attained to a proper age, she was married to Agetus the son of Alcides, this same friend of Ariston.

LXII. Ariston being very much smitten<sup>a</sup> with love for this woman, contrived the following design. He acquainted Agetus, who was her husband and his familiar friend, that he would make him a present of any one thing he should choose out of all his possessions, on condition he would oblige himself to do the like to him. Agetus not suspecting any design upon his wife, because he knew Ariston had one already, accepted the proposal; and an oath for mutual performance was sworn on both sides. Accordingly Ariston gave him the thing he chose out of all his treasures; and then requiring the same compliance from Agetus, wished to carry off his wife. Agetus consented to every thing else but this; nevertheless, finding himself under the obligation of an oath, and deceived by the artifice of the king, he suffered her to be led away.

LXIII. In this manner Ariston married a third wife, after having divorced his second. But before the usual term was expired, and the ten months<sup>r</sup> elapsed, she brought him this Demaratus; and when one of his servants came to tell him as he sat with the Ephori, that a son was born to him, Ariston not forgetting the time of his marriage, but counting the

powerful than all laws, had closed their eyes to a great number of abuses. *Larcher.*

<sup>a</sup> Literally; love for this woman pierced or pricked, &c. *Ἐκνιζε*. The word is also used in the same way in Pindar. Pith. x. fin. and Isthm. vi. 74. and in many other places.

<sup>r</sup> The period of gestation is ordinarily nine months, sometimes it exceeds it,

sometimes it is not more than seven. The ancients generally reckoned ten months, because their year was lunar. Nine months of our solar year make 274 days, nine of a lunar year 265. Thus, nine days of the tenth month must have passed, before the woman can have completed her time, on which account the ancients almost always reckoned ten months for the time. *Larcher.*



months upon his fingers<sup>s</sup>, said with an oath in the hearing of the Ephori, *This child cannot be mine*<sup>t</sup>. The Ephori seemed at that time to make no account of those words; but when the boy grew up, Ariston repented of what he had said, being then fully persuaded that Demaratus was his son. He gave him the name of Demaratus<sup>u</sup>, because before his birth the Spartans had made public supplications, that Ariston, whom they esteemed the most illustrious of all the kings they ever had, might have a son.

LXIV. After some time Ariston died, and Demaratus obtained the kingdom. But it was fated, as it appears, that this thing having been noticed, should deprive the son of his authority, since<sup>x</sup> he had incurred the hatred of Cleomenes, because he had before led away the army from Eleusis<sup>y</sup>; and now more particularly when Cleomenes had crossed over against those Æginetæ, who favoured the Persian.

LXV. When Cleomenes had thus resolved to take his revenge, he entered into an agreement with Leotychides the son of Menares and grandson of Agis<sup>z</sup>, a person of the same family with Demaratus; under this condition, that if he should make him king in the place of Demaratus, Leotychides should accompany him in an expedition against the Æginetæ. Leotychides had become an enemy of Demaratus, chiefly for this reason. He had been engaged to marry Percalus the daughter of Chilon<sup>a</sup>, the son of Demarmenes; when Demaratus by an insidious contrivance disappointed him of his bride; and having possessed himself of the woman by violence, retained her for his wife. On this account Leotychides became his enemy, and at the instigation of Cleomenes swore against Demaratus, affirming that he had no right to be king of Sparta, because he was not the son of Ariston; and recalled to recollection the words spoken by Ariston, when upon the message he received concerning the birth of his son, and the computation he made of the time elapsed after his marriage, he affirmed with an oath, that the child was not his. Insisting upon the authority of these words, Leotychides

<sup>s</sup> The ancients used to make calculations by the help of their fingers. All the numbers from one to a hundred were reckoned on the left hand, and the hundredth began upon the right, and the two hundredth returned to the left. See Juvenal Sat. x. ver. 248. Larcher.

<sup>t</sup> See Hoogeveen ad Viger. viii. 2. 8.

<sup>u</sup> This name is compounded of Δῆμος, *the people*, and ἀράομαι, *I pray*, and signifies, requested by the prayers and wishes of the people.

<sup>x</sup> Διὰ τὰ, by the Ionic idiom, is the

same as διότι, because that, &c. Schweigh.

<sup>y</sup> See book v. ch. 75.

<sup>z</sup> Agis was not the son of Menares, but Agesilaus, as we see, viii. 131. Leotychides is an Ionism for Leotychides, as we meet with it in Thucydides, (i. 89.)

<sup>a</sup> This is not the one who was considered one of seven sages. He was the son of Damagetus; the one here mentioned was the son of Demarmenes. Herodotus also mentions him, i. 59. and vii. 235.

openly maintained, that Demaratus was neither the son of Ariston, nor rightful king of Sparta; and for the truth of his assertion appealed to the Ephori, who then sat by the king, and heard him pronounce the words in question.

LXVI. Thus the matter being drawn into dispute, the Spartans determined to inquire of the oracle at Delphi, whether Demaratus was the son of Ariston or not. But since the matter had been referred<sup>b</sup> to the Pythian by the advice of Cleomenes, he gained over one Cobon the son of Aristophantus; who being a person of great authority in Delphi, prevailed with Perialla the prophetess to give such an answer as Cleomenes desired. So that when the Spartans came to consult the oracle, the Pythian pronounced Demaratus not to be the son of Ariston; which collusion being afterwards discovered, Cobon fled from Delphi, and Perialla was deprived of her dignity.

LXVII. By this means Demaratus was deposed; and in conclusion betook himself to the Medes on account of an insult of the following kind. After his deposition he was chosen and held the office of magistrate. And while he was a spectator of the *Gymnopædiæ*<sup>c</sup>, Leotychides who had been appointed king in his room, sent a messenger to ask him, in order to deride and insult him, "what he thought of being a "magistrate after he had been a king?" Demaratus, disturbed with the insolence of his message, answered, "that "he indeed had experienced both, but Leotychides had not; "and added, that this question should be the commencement "either of infinite calamity, or infinite prosperity to the Lacedæmonians." When he had said these words, and covered his face, he went out of the theatre to his house, where he sacrificed an ox to Jupiter, and afterwards sent for his mother.

LXVIII. When his mother came, he put the entrails<sup>d</sup> of the victim into her hands, and supplicated her in the following terms: "Mother, I adjure you by all the other gods, "and by this Hercean Jupiter<sup>e</sup>, to tell me the truth, and let

<sup>b</sup> Ἀνωίστορον γενομένου, *re relatâ*, &c. Ἀνωίστορος is the same as ἀνωιστός, formed from ἀνοίω, which is the same as ἀναφέρω, from whence is formed the first Aorist ἀνῶσαι in book i. ch. 157. Schweigh. *Lexicon*.

<sup>c</sup> This word is derived from γυμνός, *naked*, and παῖς, *a child*. The *Gymnopædiæ* were festivals, in which naked children sang hymns in honor of Apollo, and the three hundred Spartans who fell at Thermopylæ. They were celebrated on the 7th or 8th of Hecatombæon, which answers to the 20th and 21st of our July. Although I have said that the children

were naked, it must not be supposed that they were entirely so. The middle of the body was concealed by a garment or girdle. The Greeks most frequently understood by γυμνός, *a person only lightly clothed*. *Larcher*.

<sup>d</sup> The custom in oaths and supplications of touching the altars and the entrails of the victims is well known.

<sup>e</sup> The enclosure of a house was called ἔρκος; within this enclosure and in the court, altars were raised to Jupiter, who for this reason was called Hercean. He was the protector of the house. *Larcher*.



“ me know plainly who was my father. For Leotychides in  
 “ his disputes affirmed that you were with child by your for-  
 “ mer husband before you came to Ariston : others assert a  
 “ more foolish story, and say, you had the company of one  
 “ who kept the asses, and that I am his son. I adjure you  
 “ therefore by the gods to inform me of the truth : for if  
 “ you have done as they say, you are not singly guilty ;  
 “ others have done the like. Besides, many of the Spartans  
 “ are persuaded that Ariston was incapable of begetting  
 “ children ; otherwise, they say, his former wives had not  
 “ been unfruitful.” Thus spoke Demaratus.

LXIX. His mother replied in these words : “ Son, because  
 “ you so suppliantly entreat me to speak the truth, I shall  
 “ conceal nothing from you. The third night after Ariston  
 “ had conducted me home to his house, a phantom entirely  
 “ like him in shape entered my chamber, and having lain  
 “ with me, put a crown on my head, and went out again.  
 “ Ariston himself soon after came in, and seeing the crown  
 “ on my head, asked who had made me that present. I  
 “ answered, he himself ; but perceiving he would not own  
 “ the thing, I added an oath to my assertion, and told him  
 “ he did not well to deny what he had done, having been so  
 “ lately in my chamber, and given me the crown after he had  
 “ lain with me. When Ariston perceived that I affirmed it  
 “ with an oath, he learnt that it was the deed of a deity.  
 “ And indeed, not only the crown was found to have been  
 “ taken from the chapel of the hero Astrabacus<sup>f</sup>, which stands  
 “ by the gates of the palace ; but the prophets likewise  
 “ affirmed, that it was the hero himself. Thus, my son, you  
 “ have the whole truth, which you so much desired to know :  
 “ and therefore either the hero Astrabacus, or else Ariston,  
 “ was your father ; for I conceived you in that night. As to  
 “ that reproach, which your enemies endeavour chiefly to  
 “ fasten upon you, by affirming that Ariston himself, when  
 “ he received the news of your birth, said in the presence of  
 “ many persons, that you could not be his son ; those words  
 “ were thrown out by him for want of sufficient information  
 “ concerning such matters. For women are not always ac-  
 “ customed to complete ten months ; but some are delivered  
 “ in nine, and others even in seven. You, my son, were born  
 “ within the space of seven months ; and Ariston himself was  
 “ in a little time convinced, that those words were the effect

<sup>f</sup> This person was of the family of the Eurythenidæ, the chief royal family of Sparta. He was the son of Irbus, who was the son of Amphisthenes, the son of Amphicles, the son of Agis, (Pausan.

iii. 16.) All that I can find concerning him is, that he with his brother Alopecus found the statue of Diana Orthia, which Orestes and Iphigenia brought from Tauris, and both became mad. *Larcher.*

“ of his ignorance. Believe no other stories concerning your birth ; for you have heard the whole truth. And if Leoty- chides or any other has calumniated us with the fable of the keeper of our asses, may their wives bring them children so begotten.”

LXX. Demaratus having thus satisfied himself concerning the matter he desired to know, took provisions for the way, and departed to Elis ; pretending he designed to go to Delphi, in order to consult the oracle. But the Lacedæmonians suspecting that he intended to make his escape, pursued him. Before they reached Elis, Demaratus had crossed over to Zacynthus : the Lacedæmonians having crossed over after him, took away his attendants, and endeavoured to seize him himself. But afterwards, because the Zacynthians refused to deliver him up, he crossed over to Asia to king Darius, who received him honourably, and presented him with lands and cities. Thus Demaratus went away to Asia, having met with such fortune, after he had become illustrious<sup>g</sup> among the Spartans, both by many deeds and sayings, and having obtained an Olympic victory in a four-horse chariot, had attached that honour to his city, being the only one of all the kings of Sparta who had done this<sup>h</sup>.

LXXI. Leotychides the son of Menares, created king in the place of Demaratus, had a son named Zeuxidamus, who by some of the Spartans is called Cyniscus. This Zeuxidamus was never king of Sparta ; for he died before his father ; leaving behind him a son named Archidamus. Leotychides, after the death of his son, took for his second wife Eurydame the sister of Menius and daughter of Diactorides ; who brought him no male child, and only one daughter, named Lampito, whom he gave in marriage to Archidamus the son of Zeuxidamus.

LXXII. Nevertheless Leotychides did not grow old in Sparta, but made the following reparation to Demaratus. For while he was making war in Thessaly at the head of the Lacedæmonian army, and might easily have conquered all the country, he suffered himself to be corrupted with money. Being caught in the very act of sitting on a sleeve full of silver, he was summoned to appear in the court of justice, and was banished from Sparta. His house was demolished,

<sup>g</sup> The construction of the sentence is, ἄλλα τε, (i. e. κατ' ἄλλα τε) συχνὰ (ἐν) Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἀπολαμπρυνθεῖς ἐργοῖσι τε καὶ γνώμῃσι, ἐν δὲ δὴ (τοῖς ἄλλοις) Ὀλυμπιάδα (νίκην) σφί προ- σέβαλε, ἀνελόμενος (αὐτήν) τεθρίππῳ.

<sup>h</sup> Perhaps the other kings of Sparta were of the same opinion as Agesilaus, that the victory in the Olympic games depended more on riches than courage. Valckenaer.



and he went to Tegea, in which city he died. This happened some time after.

LXXIII. Cleomenes having successfully accomplished his design against Demaratus, and being highly incensed against the Æginetæ for the affront he had received, took Leotychides with him to Ægina; and since the Æginetæ did not think it right any longer to resist, as both kings had come against them, they took ten of the most eminent citizens in birth and riches, (among them Crius the son of Polycritus and Casambus the son of Aristocrates, who had the principal authority,) carried them away to Attica, and put them into the hands of the Athenians, their greatest enemies.

LXXIV. After this expedition, Cleomenes became alarmed because the Spartans had discovered his fraudulent practices against Demaratus, and fled away privately to Thessaly; and from thence passing into Arcadia, began to form new designs, soliciting the Arcadians to make war upon Sparta, and engaging them by an oath to follow him to what part soever he would lead them. He was in particular desirous to lead the principal inhabitants to the city of Nonacris, to make them swear by the waters of the Styx<sup>i</sup>, which the Arcadians say are found in that place. And indeed there is a spring dropping from a rock into a hollow place surrounded by a wall. Nonacris is a city of Arcadia near Pheneum.

LXXV. When the Lacedæmonians were informed of these intrigues of Cleomenes, through fear, they recalled him to Sparta and restored him to his former dignity. But he was no sooner returned, than he was seized by a madness, though he was not before quite in his senses; for whenever he met any Spartan he used to dash his sceptre on his face. His relations seeing these actions, and perceiving him to be deprived of his understanding, confined him in stocks. When he was confined and saw only one of his keepers with him, he demanded a knife<sup>k</sup>. The keeper at first refused to obey; yet after Cleomēnes had threatened to punish him hereafter, dreading the effect of his menaces, (for he was one of his Helots<sup>l</sup>,) he gave him a knife. Which Cleomenes taking into

<sup>i</sup> It appears by this passage that the Greeks assembled at Nonacris, to swear by the waters of the Styx, when they wished to render their oaths inviolable. The gods also swore by the Styx, and it was the greatest oath they could use.

<sup>k</sup> The Greeks of the heroic age usually carried two weapons of the sword kind, one called ξίφος and the other μάχαρα, very different one from the other, but commonly both rendered in English by

the word *sword*. The Xiphos was a large knife, and used for the purpose of a knife equally and a weapon. Mitford's Greece, ch. i. sect. 3.

<sup>l</sup> The Helotæ were properly so called from Helos, a Laconian town, conquered by the Spartans, who made all the inhabitants prisoners of war, and reduced them into the condition of slaves. The free men of Sparta were forbidden the exercise of any mechanical employment:

his hand, began to lacerate himself, beginning at his legs, and making long incisions from the leg to the thigh; then proceeding from the thigh to the loins, he at last came to his belly, which he cut in pieces, and died in this manner. Most of the Grecians say, he was thus punished for suborning the Pythian to frame the answer she gave concerning Demaratus: the Athenians alone pretend, that it was because he invaded Eleusis and cut down the grove of the goddesses<sup>m</sup>; but as the Argives say, it happened because he took out those Argives who had fled from the battle into the grove of Argos<sup>n</sup> and butchered them, and having disregarded the sanctity of the place, had set fire to the grove.

LXXVI. For when Cleomenes consulted the oracle of Delphi, the answer he received was, that he should take Argos. Upon this assurance marching at the head of the Spartans he arrived at the river Erasinus, which, as they say, begins at the Stymphalian lake, and, passing through a subterraneous cavity of the earth, rises again in Argos, and from that place is called, by the Argives, Erasinus<sup>o</sup>. Cleomenes upon his arrival sacrificed to the god of the river; but finding the entrails of the victim without any marks of a successful passage, he said, that he admired the Erasinus because he would not betray his own people, yet the Argives should not even thus escape with impunity. Decamping therefore with his army, he marched to Thyrea; where, after he had sacrificed a bull to the sea, he conducted his forces in ships<sup>p</sup> to the country of Tiryns and Nauplia.

LXXVII. The Argives, hearing of their arrival, marched out towards the sea, and being advanced near Tiryns, to a place called Sepia, they encamped opposite the Lacedæmonians, leaving only a small interval between the two armies. They were not afraid of coming to a fair battle, but of being surprised by fraud and stratagem; because the oracle they

and therefore the ground was tilled and all sorts of trades practised by the Helots, and the whole care of supplying the city with necessaries, devolved upon them. But they were also treated in the most barbarous manner, and even murdered without the least show of justice. See Potter's Arch. Græc. book i. ch. 10. For a more particular account see Cragius de Republicâ Lacedæmoniorum.

<sup>m</sup> Ceres and Proserpine.

<sup>n</sup> This Argos was the son of Jupiter and Niobe, the daughter of Phoroneus: he gave his name to the town of Argos

and his territory. He had no temple, and perhaps not even a chapel. Pausanias only mentions his monument, which was doubtless in the consecrated grove. See Pausanias ii. 16. 22. 34. This Argos was very different from that surnamed Panoptes, who, because he let nothing escape his notice, was said to have eyes all over his body. This last was the son of Agénor, and great grandson of the one we are speaking of. Larcher.

<sup>o</sup> This river is now called Kephalani.

<sup>p</sup> He seized the vessels of the Æginetæ and Sicyonians. See ch. 92.



and the Milesians had jointly<sup>q</sup> received from the Pythian, seemed to predict such an event. The words were these!

When in the streets of Argos female pride<sup>r</sup>  
Shall be exalted, and the male expel;  
Then shall the Argive dames so sadly mourn,  
That thus shall one in future ages say,  
Kill'd by a spear a wreathed serpent lies.

All these things happening together, struck the Argives with great terror; so that they resolved to regulate their movements by the herald of the enemy: and accordingly when any thing was signified to the Lacedæmonians by a herald they did the same.

LXXVIII. Cleomenes having perceived that the Argives did whatever his herald signified, gave order to the Spartans, that instead of going to dinner upon the usual signal, they should betake themselves to their arms<sup>s</sup>, and march out against the Argives. The Lacedæmonians executed his order, and falling upon the Argives at the time of their dinner, killed many on the spot; and having driven a far greater number into the grove, surrounded them there.

LXXIX. After which Cleomenes having received full information, by deserters, concerning their persons, sent a herald to summon by name all the Argives who were shut up in the sacred place to come out, for he had received their ransom; which in Peloponnesus is fixed at two mines for every man. Cleomenes put to death about fifty Argives, who were called out man by man, whilst those who still continued within, could not see the slaughter, by reason of the thickness of the grove; till at last one of them getting up into a tree, saw what was doing. Those therefore who were afterwards called would not go out.

LXXX. Cleomenes seeing this, commanded all the Helots to surround the grove with combustible materials; and after they had executed his orders, he set fire to the place. When all was in a flame, he asked one of the fugitives, to what god that grove was consecrated; and being told to Argos, Cleomenes, with a deep sigh, said, "O prophetic Apollo! thou

<sup>q</sup> The part which related to the Milesians had been given in ch. 19.

<sup>r</sup> This oracle is very obscure, the first part is explained by Pausanias (ii. 20.) and Plutarch (de Virtut. Mulier. tom. ii. pag. 245.) in nearly the same terms. The Argive women taking arms, under the conduct of Telesilla, repulsed Cleomenes with considerable loss. As to the second part, I leave the explanation of it to those who think themselves inspired by the God of Delphi, whose ambiguous

answers have given him the surname of *Λοξίας, obliquus.* Larcher.

A romantic story is related by later writers, of a poetess, Telesilla, who, at the head of the women, boys and old men of Argos, repelled the assault of the Lacedæmonians. Had such a story had any credit in Herodotus' age, he was not of a temper to leave it unnoticed. Mitford's Greece, ch. vii. 3.

<sup>s</sup> Polyænus relates this stratagem more at length, i. 14.

"hast greatly deluded me, by promising that I should take Argos. I conjecture thy prophecy is accomplished."

LXXXI. After these things Cleomenes sent home the greater part of his army to Sparta, and retaining a thousand chosen men with him, went to the temple of Juno, in order to sacrifice on her altar. But the priest forbidding him to proceed, told him, that no stranger might sacrifice in that temple: upon which Cleomenes commanded his Helots to drag the priest from the altar and beat him. In the mean time he himself sacrificed; and when he had performed his devotions, went away to Sparta.

LXXXII. At his return he was summoned to appear before the Ephori by his enemies, who accused him of corruption; and affirmed, that in consideration of money received, he had neglected the conquest of Argos, which he might easily have accomplished. I know not whether the answer of Cleomenes were true or false; but, however, his answer was, that he thought the oracle fulfilled when he had taken the temple of Argos, and therefore resolved not to attempt the city, before he had inquired whether heaven would favour or obstruct his enterprize; and that whilst he was sacrificing favourably in the temple of Juno, a flame of fire issued from the breast of the image; and that by that means he learnt for certain that he should not take the city of Argos: for if the fire had proceeded from the head he thought that he should have entirely taken Argos, but as it shone forth from the breast he thought that every thing had been done which the deity wished. These reasons seemed probable to the Spartans, and Cleomenes was acquitted by a great majority.

LXXXIII. Argos however was left so destitute of men, that their slaves usurped the administration<sup>t</sup> of affairs, and ex-

<sup>t</sup> The Argives, says Plutarch (de Virt. Mul. tom. ii. pag. 245.) did not marry to their slaves the wives of those who had fallen in battle, as Herodotus assures us, contrary to all truth, but first admitted the best of the neighbours to the rights of citizens, and then married them to the widows. These appeared to despise their new husbands, and on that account it was ordained by law, that new married women should wear a false beard, the first time they lay with their husbands.

Of the states on the continent of Greece, Argos was among the first to abolish monarchy; or, however, so to reduce its powers that we hardly perceive among historians whether it existed or no. The Argian government is said to have become republican so early as on

the death of Ceisus, son of Temenus; founder of the Heracleid dynasty. But neither was Argos fortunate in the change. In its defective history indeed we read of scarcely any thing but disorders, and those often of extraordinary violence. In general we learn that the higher and lower ranks were continually at variance, but the democratical faction was mostly superior; the priesthood had peculiar authority: sometimes tyrants raised themselves over all, and once the slaves got possession of the city, and filled the magistracies. Originally an ill-constituted government, no legislator of superior wisdom and probity ever acquired the power, no fortunate train of circumstances ever occurred of themselves, to unite liberty and administration upon a firm and even basis. One famous tyrant,



exercised all the magistracies, until the sons of those who had been killed grew up. These then recovered Argos and expelled the slaves from the city. These servants after their expulsion took Tiryns by assault, and for a time concord subsisted between them, till they were persuaded by one Cleander, an Arcadian prophet of Phigalea<sup>u</sup>, to attack their masters; and entering into a long war, they were at last subdued by the Argives, though not without great difficulty.

LXXXIV. To the guilt of these actions the Argives attribute the madness and miserable death of Cleomenes. But the Spartans deny that he was punished with distraction by any deity, and affirm that from associating with the Scythians, he became a drinker of unmixed wine, and from that he became mad. For the Scythian Nomades, whose country Darius had invaded, being desirous to revenge that injury, sent ambassadors to conclude an alliance with the Spartans on these terms; that the Scythians should endeavour to make an irruption into Media by the river Phasis; that the Spartans should march into Higher Asia<sup>x</sup> by the way of Ephesus; and that both armies should meet at the same place. They say, that by associating too much with the Scythians who came for this purpose, Cleomenes contracted a habit of drinking unmixed wine, and that his madness was derived from this cause. And from this occasion, as they themselves report, when they wish to drink stronger drink, they say *Episcythison*, "Imitate the Scythians." These things are said by the Spartans concerning Cleomenes; but I am of opinion that this punishment was inflicted for the wrong he had done to Demaratus.

LXXXV. When the *Æginetæ* were informed of the death of Cleomenes, they sent ambassadors to Sparta with loud complaints against Leotychides, on account of the hostages detained at Athens: and the Lacedæmonians, having summoned an assembly to deliberate concerning the matter, resolved

Pheidon, lineal successor of the Heraclids, a prince of great abilities but no moderation, raised himself, rather than his country, to a superiority which ceased with him. Under its republican government, impotent abroad as unhappy at home, Argos finally lost that pre-eminence which under monarchical rule it had obtained among the Grecian states. Far from leading the affairs of Peloponnesus, every little town of Argolis itself resisted the Argian dominion. Mitford's Greece, ch. iv. 2.

<sup>u</sup> Phigalea is a town of Arcadia, near which the river Neda flows, which rises in Mount Lyceum. It was founded by Phigalus the son of Ijcaon: (Pausan.

viii. 39.) but afterwards took the name of Phialia, from Phialus, the son of Bucalion, (Id. *ibid.* 5.) *Larcher*.

<sup>x</sup> This is expressed in Greek by a single word, *ἀναβαίνειν*. In almost all historians this word is used to signify, *to go from the sea*. In our author and in Xenophon it is to advance from the coast of the sea towards the centre of the dominions of the great king. Thus the expedition of the Greeks which we call the retreat of the ten thousand, is called in Greek *Ἀνάβασις*, because they went from the coast towards Babylon. We call it the retreat, with reference to the most celebrated part of it, and not to the Greek term. *Larcher*.

that the Æginetæ had been treated with indignity by Leotychides, and therefore determined that he should be delivered into their hands, and carried prisoner to Ægina, in the place of those who were detained by the Athenians. But when they were ready to carry him away, Theasides the son of Leoprepes, an eminent Spartan, spoke to them in these terms: "Men of Ægina," said he, "what are you about to do? Are you resolved to take away the king of Sparta, because he is delivered into your hands? If the Spartans in their anger have so decided, take care lest if you do these things, they may bring into your country a calamity which will utterly destroy you." The Æginetæ having considered these words, were contented to desist, on condition nevertheless that Leotychides would accompany them to Athens, and procure the restitution of the men.

LXXXVI. Accordingly Leotychides went to Athens, and after he had demanded the persons in question, the Athenians, seeking by an artificial evasion to elude his instances, told him, that as two kings had come to entrust them, they could not justly restore them to one in the absence of the other.

Leotychides, when the Athenians refused to give them up, said, "Do that, O Athenians, which pleases you best. If you restore the hostages, you will do an action of justice; if not, the contrary. Yet I will tell you what happened formerly concerning a deposit in Sparta. We Spartans say, that about three ages have passed, since one Glaucus<sup>y</sup> the son of Epicydides lived in Lacedæmon; a man singularly eminent in all manner of virtues, and more esteemed for his justice than any other person among the Lacedæmonians. In process of time<sup>z</sup> a certain Milesian came to Sparta, being desirous of coming to a conference with him, who spoke to him in these terms: Glaucus, said he, I am a Milesian, and now come to enjoy the benefit of thy justice. For since throughout all the rest of Greece, and particularly in Ionia, there was great talk of your justice, I considered with myself that Ionia is always exposed to great dangers, and that on the contrary Peloponnesus is perpetually secure, because the inhabitants are known to have no riches. Upon this reflection I determined to deposit with thee one half of my estate, which I have reduced into money; being fully assured it will be safe in thy hands. Take then this silver, with these tokens, and give the money back to the person who shall bring the same tokens.

"When the Milesian had said these words, Glaucus re-

<sup>y</sup> This Glaucus was king of Sparta, if we credit Pausanias, (ii. 18.)

<sup>z</sup> *Ἐν χρόνῳ κελευμένῳ*. This Larcher

translates, "Dans un temps déterminé, dans le temps fixe par la divinité."



“ceived the treasure, with a promise to do as he desired.  
 “After a long time the sons of this man coming to Sparta,  
 “addressed themselves to Glaucus, and having shewed him  
 “the token, demanded the money, which had been deposited  
 “in his hands. Glaucus rejected them with this answer, ‘I  
 “remember nothing of the matter, nor have I any knowledge  
 “of the affair<sup>a</sup>. Yet,’ said he, ‘if I can recover the memory  
 “of this thing, I will do every thing that is just; for if I have  
 “been entrusted, I will strictly give it back. But if, on the  
 “contrary, I have received nothing, I shall seek that satisfac-  
 “tion which the laws of Greece allow; and therefore I defer  
 “finally deciding on this matter for four months.’

“The Milesians, considering it a great calamity departed,  
 “as if they had been deprived of their money. But Glaucus  
 “went to inquire of the oracle at Delphi, whether he should  
 “retain these riches by perjury, and received this answer  
 “from the Pythian in verse:

Perfidious oaths, and violated faith,  
 Are oft attended by a present gain:  
 Swear boldly then; because the honest man  
 Must die as surely as the vilest slave.  
 But know, that oath a nameless offspring has  
 Which bears not feet or hands, but swift pursues  
 The perjurd man, until it has destroy'd  
 With utter ruin all his house and race;  
 But honest men hereafter are more blest.

“When Glaucus heard this, he prayed the God to pardon<sup>b</sup>  
 “the words he had said. But the Pythian told him, that to  
 “tempt the god, or commit the crime, was the same thing.

“So Glaucus sent for the Milesians and restored the money.  
 “Now I shall inform you, O Athenians, with what design I  
 “have related this event. There is at present no descendant  
 “of Glaucus, nor any house which is supposed to have be-  
 “longed to Glaucus; but he is utterly extirpated<sup>c</sup> from Sparta.

<sup>a</sup> Ad verbum—Neque mihi in animum  
 (in memoriam) redit (revolvitur.) *Schw.*  
*Lea.*

<sup>b</sup> What can we think of Josephus, who,  
 wishing to prove (*Antiquit. Jud. xii. 9.*)  
 against Polybius, that Antiochus perish-  
 ed for having plundered the temple at  
 Jerusalem, and not for having intended  
 to pillage the temple of Diana in Ely-  
 mais, as the Greek historian pretends,  
 (*Excerpt. Val. pag. 145.*) adds, “*The*  
 “*intention, without having executed it,*  
 “*does not merit punishment.*” One must  
 be vexed to find such an assertion in the  
 mouth of a Jewish priest. He must have  
 forgotten the passage in Zechariah, which  
 I more willingly quote, as it agrees very  
 well with this history of Glaucus. “I

“looked, and behold a flying roll. Then  
 “said he unto me, This is the curse that  
 “goeth forth over the face of the whole  
 “earth; and it shall enter into the house  
 “of the thief, and into the house of him  
 “that sweareth falsely by my name;  
 “and it shall remain in the midst of his  
 “house, and shall consume it with the  
 “timber thereof.” *ch. v. ver. 2. and seq.*  
 See also a similar story in Stobæus, *Serim.*  
 117. *pag. 362. Larcher.*

<sup>c</sup> Juvenal has introduced this story:  
 “Spartano cuidam respondit Pythia  
 “vates,  
 “Haud impunitum quondam fore, quod  
 “dubitaret  
 “Depositum retinere et fraudem jure  
 “tueri

"By which you may see that you ought to entertain no other thought concerning a deposit, than to restore it when the owner requires it." Leotychides having finished these words, when the Athenians did not even thus listen to him, departed.

LXXXVII. But before the Ægintæ received the punishment they deserved for the injuries they had done<sup>d</sup> to the Athenians in favour of the Thebans, they executed the following enterprize. Being incensed against the Athenians, and thinking themselves injured, they prepared to take their revenge; and to that end, knowing that the Athenian galley<sup>e</sup>, which they used to send annually to Delphi, was then at Sunium, they intercepted the vessel, and put in chains many principal Athenians who were found on board.

LXXXVIII. From the time of that disaster the Athenians no longer delayed contriving every thing against the Æginetæ. There was at Ægina an eminent man named Nicodromus the son of Cnœthus; this person being incensed against the Æginetæ on account of his former banishment from the island, and now hearing that the Athenians were preparing to annoy the Æginetæ, entered into an agreement with them to deliver the city into their hands<sup>f</sup>, and told them on what day he would make the attempt, that they might come on that day to his assistance. In pursuance of this engagement Nicodromus seized that part of the place which is called the Old-Town.

LXXXIX. The Athenians, however, did not arrive at the proper time, because they had not a sufficient number of ships to fight the Æginetæ; and while they were entreating the Corinthians to lend them some ships, the enterprize failed.

"Jurando. Quærebat enim quæ Numi-  
"nis esset

"Mens, et an hoc illi facinus suaderet  
"Apollo.

"Reddidit ergo metu, non moribus; et  
"tamen omnem

"Vocem adyti dignam templo, veram-  
"que probavit,

"Extinctus totâ pariter cum prole domo-  
"que,

"Et quamvis longâ deductis gente pro-  
"pinquis.

"Has patitur pœnas peccandi sola vo-  
"luntas."

Sat. xiii. v. 199. and seq. See also Ci-  
cero's Offices, iii. 8.

<sup>d</sup> See book v. ch. 80, 81.

<sup>e</sup> The Theoris. This was a vessel which was every year sent to Delos to offer sacrifice to Apollo, in consequence of a vow which Theseus had made at his

departure from Crete. As soon as the festival celebrated on this occasion commenced, they purified the town, and it was an inviolable law to put no one to death till this vessel returned. It was sometimes a long while on its passage, especially when the wind was contrary. This festival called Theoria commenced when the priest of Apollo had crowned the poop of the vessel. Theoros was the name of the ambassador who was sent to offer sacrifices to a god or consult an oracle: it distinguished them from those charged with commissions on civil affairs, who were called Πρέσβεις. Larcher. See also Potter's Arch. Græc. book ii. ch. 9.

<sup>f</sup> Aristotle (Politic. v. 6.) speaks of this event. From him it appears that the leader of the Athenians was named Chares.



The Corinthians, who were then great friends to the Athenians, assisted them at their request with twenty ships<sup>s</sup>; but took five drachmas for each, because by their laws they were forbidden to let them go without reward. When the Athenians had received this succour, and made ready their own fleet, they sailed to Ægina with seventy ships in all, and arrived one day after the day agreed upon.

XC. Nicodromus, when the Athenians did not arrive at the proper time, made his escape by sea with divers of his accomplices, to whom the Athenians gave Sunium for an habitation; from whence they afterwards infested the Æginetæ, and committed many depredations on the island.

XCI. In the mean time the most wealthy citizens of Ægina having overpowered the Plebeians who made the insurrection with Nicodromus, led them out to execution. And from that time they incurred the guilt of a sacrilegious crime, which they could never atone for by sacrifices; but were ejected out of the island, before they had appeased the anger of the Goddess. For as they led to execution seven hundred of the people they had taken prisoners, one of them getting loose fled to the porch of the temple of Ceres the legislatress, and caught hold of the handle of the gate; but they having in vain endeavoured to drag him from the place, cut off both his hands, which they left fastened to the gate, and forced him away in that condition.

XCII. Thus the Æginetæ treated the insurgents. They next fought a battle by sea against the Athenians who arrived with their seventy ships; and being defeated, sent again to the Argives to desire their assistance. But the Argives would not any longer succour them, but complained that the ships of Ægina, which had been seized by Cleomenes<sup>h</sup>, had touched at the territories of Argos, and that the Æginetæ had landed their forces with the Lacedæmonians; as some of the Sicyonians had likewise done in the same expedition. And a penalty of five hundred talents was imposed upon each by the Argives. The Sicyonians acknowledged that they had acted unjustly, and agreed with the Argives to pay one hundred talents and be free from the rest; but the Æginetæ were more haughty, and would not condescend to own themselves in the wrong. For these reasons none of the Argives were sent by the commonwealth to assist the Æginetæ; but about a thousand volunteers, under the conduct of Eurybates, who had practised for the pentathlum<sup>i</sup>, marched to their suc-

<sup>s</sup> The Corinthians reminded the Athenians of this kindness, when they were inclined to assist the Corcyreans. See Thucyd. i. 41.

<sup>h</sup> In the expedition mentioned in ch. 76 and 77.

<sup>i</sup> Simonides has collected the five games

cour. But the greater part of these perished in the war against the Athenians, and never returned home from Ægina. Eurybates himself, after he had killed three several antagonists in single combat, died by the hand of Sophanes of Decelea<sup>k</sup>, who was the fourth he encountered.

XCIII. Nevertheless the Æginetæ having found an opportunity of attacking the Athenians, when they were in disorder, obtained a victory, and took four ships with all the men that were on board.

XCIV. Whilst the Athenians were thus engaged in a war against Ægina, Darius was not remiss in his affairs; so that being continually put in mind by his servant to remember the Athenians<sup>l</sup>, and incessantly surrounded by the Pisistratidæ who criminated the Athenians, and being also desirous, under this pretext, of subduing all those parts of Greece which had denied him earth and water, first of all he removed Mardonius from his command, because he had not succeeded in his expedition; and sent Datis a native of Media, and Artaphernes the son of his brother Artaphernes<sup>m</sup>, to make war upon Eretria and Athens, with orders to enslave the inhabitants of those cities and bring them into his presence.

XCV. After these generals had been declared, and had taken leave of the king, they advanced at the head of a numerous and well-provided army into a plain of Cilicia, called Aleium<sup>n</sup>, and encamped there. In the mean time the fleet arrived with vessels for the transportation of horses, which Darius in the preceding year had commanded the tributary provinces to furnish; and when the men and horses were all embarked, they sailed for the coast of Ionia with six hundred galleys. In this voyage they would not sail towards<sup>o</sup> the Hellespont and Thrace, but departing from Samos<sup>p</sup> directed their course across the Icarian sea, and through the islands; chiefly, as I conjecture, dreading to double the cape of mount Athos, where they had sustained so great a loss in the former year; and partly in order to attack the island of Naxos, which they had not yet reduced.

XCVI. When they had sailed over the Icarian sea, and had touched at Naxos, (for the Persians, bearing in mind

which composed the Pentathlum into one verse:

Ἄλμα, ποδωκίην, δίσκον, ἄκοντα, παλιν. Anth. i. 1. Epigr. 8. Ed. H. Steph. *Leaping, running, throwing the quoit, and the javelin, and wrestling.*

<sup>k</sup> See book viii. ch. 74.

<sup>l</sup> See book v. 105.

<sup>m</sup> Artaphernes, the governor of Sardis, was the brother of Darius, v. 25, 30, 73, &c.

<sup>n</sup> This plain was divided by the river Pyramus, to the north of Mallus.

<sup>o</sup> Ἐχεῖν is also frequently used by Homer to signify the same as ἐλαύνειν. See Iliad, N. 326. Wesseling.

<sup>p</sup> If would have been shorter to have gone directly to Naxos, but they doubtless intended to rest at Samos after the fatigues of so long a voyage, and before they commenced the siege of Naxos. Larcher.



what had formerly happened<sup>3</sup>, intended to attack this place first,) the Naxians abandoned their habitations, and fled to the mountains: upon which the Persians took as many prisoners as they could seize; and after they had burnt the city, with the temples, departed to the rest of the islands.

XCVII. During this enterprize the Delians left their island, and fled to Tenus; but when the fleet arrived near Delos, Datis sailed forward and would not permit them to bring their ships into a station near the island, but at Rhenea which was opposite; and being there informed where the Delians were, he sent a herald to them with this message: "Sacred men, upon what motive have you fled away and have not conceived a proper opinion of me? I am not your enemy in inclination; and besides I have received a command from the king, that in the region, where two deities<sup>4</sup> are born, I should commit no violence either against the inhabitants or the place. Return therefore to your houses, and resume the possession of your island." This message he sent to the Delians by means of a herald; and afterwards he piled three hundred talents of frankincense upon the altar and burnt it.

XCVIII. Datis, after he had done this, sailed with the whole fleet towards Eretria, accompanied by the Ionians and Æolians. The Delians say, that upon his departure the island of Delos was shaken by an earthquake<sup>5</sup>, the first and last ever felt in that place to our time; and that the God thereby foretold the calamities impending over the men of that age. For under the reigns of Darius the son of Hystaspes, of Xerxes the son of Darius, and of Artaxerxes the son of Xerxes; I say during the consecutive reigns of these three kings, more disasters fell upon Greece than in twenty generations before, partly brought upon it by the Persians, and partly by the principal powers<sup>6</sup> of the country contending for superiority. So that it is nothing improbable that the island of Delos, though unmoved before, should be shaken at that time, as a former oracle had predicted in these words;

I'll Delos shake, however yet unmov'd.

And certainly the names of these three kings are rightly ex-

<sup>3</sup> See book v. ch. 34.

<sup>4</sup> Apollo and Diana.

<sup>5</sup> Thucydides (ii. 8.) relates that this island was shaken by an earthquake a little before the Peloponnesian war, and assures us that it had never been shaken before within the memory of man. Thucydides may probably speak of the same as Herodotus; and as only forty-

eight years passed between this period and the Peloponnesian war, he may have expressed himself in a general way. Wesseling is of the same opinion. *Larcher*.

<sup>6</sup> He alludes to the Peloponnesian war, the commencement of which he had seen. *Larcher*.

plained by the Grecians; for, in our language, Darius signifies one who restrains; Xerxes a warrior; and Artaxerxes a mighty warrior.

XCIX. After the Barbarians had left Delos, they touched at the other islands; from whence they took forces and the sons of the inhabitants for hostages. Then advancing farther among the islands, they arrived at Carystus<sup>u</sup>, the people of which refused either to put hostages into their hands, or to fight against their neighbours of Athens and Eretria. For this cause the Carystians were besieged by the Persians, and their territories ravaged, till at last they surrendered to the Persians.

C. By this time the Eretrians being informed that the Persians were coming to invade them with their fleet, implored the assistance of the Athenians; who at their request ordered those four thousand men that were in possession of the lands formerly belonging to the Chalcidean Hippobotæ<sup>x</sup>, to march to their succour. But the councils of the Eretrians were corrupted and unsteady; and though they had desired the aid of the Athenians, they could not come to any settled resolution. For some among them proposed to abandon the city, and to retire among the rocks<sup>y</sup> of Eubœa; whilst others were ready to betray their country<sup>z</sup> to the Persians, in expectation of private advantages to themselves. So that Æschines the son of Nothion, a man of principal authority in the city, being perfectly informed of these divisions, communicated the present state of their affairs to the Athenian forces, and advised them to return home, that they might not be involved in the common ruin. The Athenians followed his counsel, and by a timely retreat to Oropus, saved themselves from destruction.

CI. In the mean time the Persians arriving on the coast of Eretria, brought their fleet to an anchor near Tamynæ<sup>a</sup>,

<sup>u</sup> A town of Eubœa, situated at the foot of Mount Ocha, where there were quarries of green marble. It was in the south-west part of the island, and nearly opposite Cynosurum, which is on the eastern coast of Attica. *Larcher*.

<sup>x</sup> See book v. ch. 77. and note.

<sup>y</sup> Τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Εὐβοίας. These are what Virgil calls,

“Euboicæ cautes, ultorque Caphe-  
“reus.” *Æneid*, xi. ver. 260.

There were in this part of the island places called the *Hollows of Eubœa*, because the coast retired in that part, τὰ Κοίλα τῆς Εὐβοίας. See also Livy, xxxi. 47. If the inhabitants of Carystus

had retired to this place, they would have had nothing to fear from the Persians, whose fleet durst not have attacked them amongst rocks so very dangerous. *Larcher*.

<sup>z</sup> Gongylus, the only Eretrian who had taken part with the Persians, as Xenophon affirms, (*Hellenic*. iii. 1. 4.) had for his reward the cities of Gambrium, Palegambrium, Myrina, and Grynia. Gorgion and Gongylus, his descendants, were still in possession of them ninety years afterwards, when Thymbron, a Lacedæmonian general, passed into Asia Minor to make war in Persia. *Larcher*.

<sup>a</sup> Tamynæ was a small town in the ter-



Choereæ and Ægilia, and having touched at these places, landed their horses with diligence, and prepared all things in order to a battle. But the Eretrians having been obliged by a plurality of voices not to abandon the city, applied themselves wholly in making provision for the defence of their walls, and would not march out to offer battle to the enemy; which when the Persians perceived, they began to attack the place; and, after six days had passed with various success and great slaughter on both sides, Euphorbus the son of Alcimachus, and Philagrus the son of Cyneus, men of considerable figure among the Eretrians, betrayed the city to the Persians. In this manner the Persians having gained entrance into the city, both pillaged and set fire to the temples, in revenge for those which had been burnt at Sardis, and enslaved the inhabitants<sup>b</sup>, pursuant to the orders of Darius.

CII. When they had taken this city, and rested a few days, they sailed to Attica, reducing the Athenians<sup>c</sup> to great difficulties, and expecting to treat them in the same way as they had the Eretrians. Marathon is a region of Attica, more commodious for horse than any other of that country, and situate near Eretria.

CIII. To this place therefore Hippias the son of Pisistratus conducted the Persians, which when the Athenians heard, they sent their forces thither also under ten captains, the tenth of whom was Miltiades, whose father Cimon<sup>d</sup> the son of Stegagoras had been formerly obliged to fly from Athens in the time of Pisistratus the son of Hippocrates. During his exile he obtained the Olympic prize<sup>e</sup> in the quadrijugal chariot-race, and transferred the honour to Miltiades his brother by the same mother. In the next Olympiad, he obtained a second victory with the same mares, and permitted Pisistratus to be proclaimed victor; by which concession he had liberty to return home upon his honour. At last, having had the same glory a third time, he was assassinated in the night by the treachery of the sons of Pisistratus, after the death of their father: for they suborned certain persons to that purpose, who killed him in the Pritaneum. He lies interred without the city, on the other side of the road which is called Dia Cæles<sup>f</sup>; and his mares, which had won him three Olympic

ritory of the Eretrians, according to Strabo, (x. p. 687.) who follows Harpocration, and near it was a temple dedicated to Apollo. *Valckenaer.*

<sup>b</sup> According to Plato, (*De Legibus* iii. tom. 2. page 698.) the Persians took Eretria as if in a net. *Diogenes Laërtius* (iii. 3.) describes the same thing. *Larcher.*

<sup>c</sup> *Κατέργοντες τε πολλόν*: bringing the Athenians into great difficulties, en-

closing them in straight, as in book v. 63. See also *Thucydides*, vi. 6. *Weseling.*

<sup>d</sup> See ch. 39—41.

<sup>e</sup> We do not know in what Olympiad Cimon obtained this victory. See *Corsini*, in *Catalogo Olympionicarum*.—*Larcher.*

<sup>f</sup> *Cœla* is (*Marcellin.* in *Vita Thucyd.* page 3.) a place in Attica, near the Me-

prizes, are buried over against his monument. Indeed Evagoras<sup>g</sup> the Lacedæmonian had a set of mares, that had done the same before; but besides these, none ever arrived to that excellence. Stesagoras the eldest son of Cimon<sup>h</sup> was at that time in the Chersonese under the care of his uncle Miltiades; but the younger in Athens with his father, and had the name of Miltiades from his ancestor, the founder of the Chersonese.

CIV. This Miltiades returning at that time from the Chersonese, was made captain of the Athenians, after he had twice escaped death; once, when the Phœnicians pursued him to Imbrus, exceedingly desirous to take him, in order to present him to the king; and a second time, when, after he had escaped the Phœnicians, and had returned home, where he thought himself in safety, his enemies brought him before a court of justice, and accused him of tyrannizing in the Chersonese. But he was cleared of this accusation, and elected captain of the Athenians by the suffrages of the people.

CV. Whilst these generals were yet in the city, they sent a message to Sparta by one Phidippides an Athenian, who was a courier by profession. To this man, as he himself said, and affirmed to the Athenians, Pan appeared about Mount Parthenius beyond Tegea, calling him loudly by his name, and commanding him to ask the Athenians, why they made so little account of him, who had always been inclined to favour them; and had already often deserved well of their state, as he resolved to do for the future. The Athenians, being then in a prosperous condition, gave credit to his report; built a temple to Pan<sup>i</sup> at the foot of the Acropolis, and from that time honoured him with annual sacrifices and the race of torches.<sup>k</sup>

letian gates, where the tomb of Cimon was. It was not far from Ceramicus, for Ælian (Hist. Animal. xii. 40.) says, he interred in that place the mares which obtained the three Olympic victories. *Valckenaer.*

<sup>g</sup> Ælian (loc. laud.) says, that Evagoras in like manner gave his horses an honourable sepulture.

<sup>h</sup> As in ix. 107. the dative case Δαρειῶν is not governed by the substantive γυναικα, but by the verb ἡγάγετο; so in iv. 51. The dative τοῖσι Σκύθῃσι is governed by the following verb ἔστι, and in this passage the dative τῷ Κίμωνι depends on ἦν: than which construction nothing is more common. *Schweigh.*

<sup>i</sup> This is mentioned by Pausanias, (i. 28.) After the victory at Marathon, they sung in honour of this god a hymn, which is given by Athenæus, (Deipnosoph. xv. 14.) but more correctly by Brunck,

in his *Analecta*, tom. i. pag. 156. viii. *Larcher.* See the remainder of his note concerning this hymn.

<sup>k</sup> The manner of the race was this. A man with a torch in his hand ran from the altar of the god, in whose honour the race was celebrated, to a certain point, without extinguishing his torch; if the torch was extinguished before he arrived at the end, he delivered it to the second, and he in like manner to the third. The victory was his that carried the torch lighted to the end of the race, and he was called λαμπαδηφόρος; but if none could perform it, the victory was not adjudged to any of them, for there were only three antagonists. If any of the contenders, for fear of putting out the torch, slackened his motion, the spectators used to strike him with the palms of their hands. There are frequent allusions to this in authors, of which I shall



**CVI.** This Phidippides, who said he had seen Pan in his way, arriving in Sparta on the following<sup>1</sup> day after his departure from Athens, spoke to the magistrates in these terms: "Men of Lacedæmon," said he, "the Athenians desire you to assist them, and not to suffer the most ancient of all the Grecian cities to be enslaved by Barbarians. Eretria is already destroyed, and Greece already weakened by the loss of so considerable a place." The Lacedæmonians having heard the message delivered by Phidippides in pursuance of his instructions, consented to succour the Athenians; but could not do it immediately without violating one of their laws. For being then at the ninth day of the month, they said they might not march into the field before the moon was full<sup>m</sup>, and therefore would wait that conjuncture<sup>n</sup>.

**CVII.** In the mean time Hippas the son of Pisistratus, introduced the Barbarians into the plain of Marathon, having the night before seen the following vision. He fancied that he lay with his mother<sup>o</sup>; and from thence concluded that he should certainly recover the dominion of Athens, and die an aged man in his own house. While he then acted as guide to the Persians, he first landed the slaves from Eretria in Ægilia, an island belonging to the Styreans, and then brought the ships of the Persian fleet into station at Marathon<sup>p</sup>; and while

only mention one instance from Lucretius, ii. ver. 76.

"Augescunt aliæ gentes, aliæ minuntur;

"In que brevi spatio mutantur sæcla  
"animantum:

"Et, quasi cursores vitæ lampada tradunt."

Potter's Arch. Græc. ii. 20.

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, he travelled in two days 1140 stades, which is the distance from Athens to Sparta. This was considered, says Pliny, (Hist. Nat. vii. 20.) a great thing, till Anystis, a courier of Lacedæmon, and Philonides, a courier of Alexander, went from Sicyon to Elis in one day, a distance of 1200 stades. But allowing for the windings of the road, the distance is scarcely more than 600 stades. If Pliny in this place meant to speak of the smaller stade, he ought to have mentioned it, because he just above spoke of the greater stade, as the passage clearly proves. *Larcher.*

<sup>m</sup> It was a sacred law at Sparta, that the full moon must be waited for before the army could quit Laconia; and, on whatever foreign service, it must return for the observance of two religious festivals, both within the ordinary season of

military operations; the Hyacinthia at the beginning, and the Carneia at the end of the summer. This was one of the curbs to which Lycurgus trusted for restraining that ambition which he could not but foresee must arise among his fellow-countrymen. Mitford, ch. 4. §. 3.

<sup>n</sup> As things now stood, probability of successful opposition was so small, that perhaps we ought not to impute to any base or unreasonable selfishness the caution of the Lacedæmonian government, though we should believe that policy or irresolution, more than religion, detained their army. Mitford's Greece, ch. 7. §. 4.

<sup>o</sup> This was considered as a fortunate dream. (See Artemidor. Oneirocrit. i. 82.) Cæsar, who abused the talents nature had bestowed on him, to reduce his country to slavery, had a similar dream: and although he did not believe the immortality of the soul, (see Sueton. Jul. Cæsar. vii.) yet he was weak enough to believe it, and even to be troubled by it, until the interpreters assured him that he would one day become master of the world. *Larcher.*

<sup>p</sup> For a description of the field of Marathon, the reader is referred to Wheeler's Journey into Greece, book 6. and Chandler's Travels in Greece, ch. 34.

drawing up the Barbarians as they landed, he happened to cough and sneeze with unusual violence, and as he was far advanced in years, several teeth were shaken in his head, and one falling out into the sand, could not be found, though all possible search was made for it. Upon which accident, with a deep sigh Hippias said to those who were present, "This country neither belongs to us, nor will ever be subdued by us; whatever share I had of this land, my tooth possesses."

CVIII. Thus Hippias conjectured that his dream was accomplished. When the Athenians had drawn up their forces in a place sacred to Hercules, the Plataeans came to their assistance with all the men they could raise. For they had put themselves under the protection of Athens, and the Athenians had gone through many dangers in their defence. For when the Plataeans saw themselves oppressed by the Thebans, they first offered their submission to Cleomenes the son of Anaxandrides, and to the Lacedæmonians who happened to be present. They would not receive them, but replied; "We live at too great a distance from you, and such would be a cold assistance. For you might frequently be enslaved before we could be informed of your danger. We advise you therefore<sup>a</sup> to put yourselves under the protection of the Athenians, who are your neighbours, and are not backward in assisting." This counsel the Lacedæmonians gave, not so much from any good will to the Plataeans, as from a desire of seeing the Athenians harassed by a war against the Bœotians. However the Plataeans not disobeying their advice, went to Athens; and arriving there when the Athenians were met to sacrifice to the twelve Gods, they sat down by the altar<sup>r</sup> in the posture of suppliants, and offered to give themselves up. Which when the Thebans heard, they sent an army against Plataea, and at the same time the Athenians marched to assist the Plataeans. But as they were ready to engage in battle, the Corinthians prevented them; for happening to be present, they interposed their offices to reconcile the contending parties, and with the consent of both sides determined the dispute by this agreement; "That the Thebans should leave alone all those Bœotians, who would no longer be accounted members of Bœotia." After this decision the Corinthians returned home, and as the Athenians were retiring likewise, the Bœotians fell upon them in their march; but were repulsed with loss. Upon which success the Athenians enlarged the frontier of the Plataeans, and instead of that appointed by the Corinthians, fixed the limits of the Thebans at

<sup>a</sup> This is also confirmed by Thucydides, <sup>r</sup> See book ii. ch. 7.  
iii. 55.



the Asopus and Hysiaë. In this manner the Plataeans came under the protection of the Athenians, and joined their forces at Marathon.

CIX. When the army was assembled, a division arose among the Athenian captains; some delivering their opinion against fighting, because they were far inferior in number to the Medes; and others as vehemently pressing to come to a battle, among whom was Miltiades; who, finding they could not agree, and that the worst opinion would probably prevail, went to Callimachus of Aphidnaë, at that time polemarch<sup>s</sup> in the army, and elected to that office by the Athenians with the privilege of an eleventh voice. For in former time the Athenians made the polemarch equal to the captains in the decision of all matters in debate. To this person therefore Miltiades applied himself in these words: "It now depends on you, O Callimachus, to enslave Athens; or by preserving its liberty, to leave an eternal monument of your fame, such as Harmodius and Aristogiton have not left. For the Athenians were never in so great danger from the time they were first a people. If they bend beneath the power of the Medes, it has been decreed, what they are to suffer, when put into the hands of Hippias; but if they conquer, Athens will be the principal city of Greece. I will now proceed to inform you, by what means these things may be effected, and how the decision of them falls upon you. The opinions of us ten generals are divided; some of us proposing to fight, and others advising the contrary. If we decline a battle, I foresee some great dissension will shake the fidelity of the army, and induce them to a compliance with the Medes. But if we fight before any corruption arises among the Athenians, we shall be able, if the Gods are impartial, to obtain the victory. All these things are in your power, and entirely depend upon the resolution you shall take. For if you would support my opinion with the accession of your vote, you will see your country free, and Athens the first city of Greece; but if you join with those who would dissuade us from a battle, you can expect no other consequences than such as are most contrary to these advantages."

CX. Miltiades, by these words, gained over Callimachus. When the polemarch came over to that opinion, it was decreed

<sup>s</sup> The polemarch was the third of the nine archons. He used to offer sacrifices to Diana Agrotera, i. e. the huntress, and to Mars. These sacrifices were performed every year in memory of the victory of Marathon. He regulated the funeral games, which were celebrated in honour of those who died in war, and of-

ferred funeral sacrifices to Harmodius and Aristogiton. He judged the causes of the Metoecs, or foreigners resident at Athens, and exercised the same regard towards them as the archon Eponymus did towards the citizens. *Larcher*. See also Potter's Arch. Gr. book i. ch. 12. and book iii. 5.

that they should engage the enemy. Afterwards all those captains, who in the council of war had pressed for a battle, whenever their turn came to command the army, yielded that honour to Miltiades; but though he accepted the power, yet he would not hazard an engagement before his own day.

CXI. When therefore that day was come, the Athenians were drawn up in this order of battle. Callimachus placed himself at the head of the right wing, because the laws of Athens assigned that post to the polemarch. Then the tribes, ranged in a line, followed in order, and last of all the Plataeans were posted on the left; from which time, in the solemnity of the quinquennial festivals<sup>t</sup>, the Athenian herald prays for the welfare of the Plataeans, as well as for the prosperity of Athens. The Athenian forces drawn up in this manner, were equal in front to the Medes. But because they had not a sufficient number of men in the centre<sup>u</sup>, that part was the weakest of the whole line, but the wings were strengthened by considerable numbers.

CXII. When all things were thus disposed, and the sacrifices were propitious, the Athenians, at the signal, ran with speed towards the enemy, though the space between the two armies was no less than eight stades<sup>x</sup> in length. The Persians, seeing the Athenians advancing with such precipitation, prepared themselves to sustain the attack; they imputed to the Athenians madness, and a very destructive one, when they saw so small a number, wholly destitute of cavalry<sup>y</sup> and archers<sup>z</sup>, rushing towards them with speed. But the Athenians coming up with the Barbarians, fell on with such valour, that their actions deserve ever to be remembered with honour.

<sup>t</sup> The Delia and Panathenaea were celebrated every five years. I suppose Herodotus alludes to the Panathenaea which were more famous than the Delia. Meursius is of the same opinion. See his work entitled Panathenaea, ch. 26. *Larcher*.

<sup>u</sup> If it might be allowed to the historian at all to wander from positive authority, the known abilities of Miltiades, and his acquaintance with the temper and formation of the Persian army, added to the circumstances of the action, would almost warrant a conjecture that the flight of his weak centre was intended, purposely to lead the flower of the enemy's forces out of the battle, and fatigue them with unprofitable pursuits. *Mitford's Greece*, ch. vii. sect. 4.

The centre was composed of the tribes Leontis and Antiochis only; Themistocles commanded the first, Aristides the second. *Plutarch in Aristide*. p. 321.

<sup>x</sup> It appears most probable that Herodotus here speaks of the small stade which is about 53 French toises, and means by running, merely double quick time. *Larcher*.

Concerning the stade of the Greeks, see *Rennell's* 2nd section.

<sup>y</sup> The Athenians being unable to maintain cavalry on account of the barrenness of Attica, retained in their pay that of Thessaly. But Thessaly was at that time in the hands of the Persians, and besides the Thessalians were attached to the family of Pisistratus. See *Herod. v. 63*. *Larcher*.

<sup>z</sup> *Æschylus*, who is said himself to have fought at Marathon, at Salamis, and Plataea, adverts in several passages of his tragedy of the Persians to this difference of weapons, and in verse 152 the characteristic weapons are put for the nations who bore them. *Mitford*, ch. vii. sect. 4. note.



For they were the first of all the Grecians, who ran to meet<sup>a</sup> the enemy and endured the sight of the Median dress, and to stand before the men who wore that dress; whereas in former time the bare name of the Medes was a word of terror in every part of Greece.

CXIII. After a long and obstinate fight<sup>b</sup>, that part of the Barbarian army in which were the Persians and the Sacæ, broke the centre of the Athenians, and pursued them towards the inland parts. But the Athenians and the Plataeans, who were in the right and left wings, defeated the Barbarians on both sides; and, having suffered them to fly out of the field, closed the two points, and fell upon those who had broken their centre. When they had defeated these, they pursued the flying enemy<sup>c</sup>, with great slaughter, to the sea, called for fire, and laid hold of the ships.

CXIV. In this battle Callimachus<sup>d</sup> the polemarch, after he had given signal proof of his valour, was killed, with Stasileus the son of Thrasyllus, one of the commanders in chief; and Cynægirus<sup>e</sup> the son of Euphorion, having laid hold of a part of the poop<sup>f</sup> of one of the enemy's ships, had his hand struck off with an axe, and died of his wound. Many other persons of considerable name were slain in this action.

CXV. Seven ships of the enemy were in this manner taken by the Athenians. The Barbarians hastily rowed off<sup>g</sup> with

<sup>a</sup> If we may believe Pausanias, (iv. 8.) the Messenians long before this period ran to attack the Lacedæmonians. But this author is too modern to oppose Herodotus. However that may be, the Greeks for the most part adopted this custom, and we see many examples of it in the retreat of the ten thousand. Cæsar practised it with success against Pompey. See Cæsar de Bello Civili, iii. 92. and Appian de Bell. Civilib. ii. pag. 782. *Larcher*.

These honest confessions of Herodotus, which have given so much offence to Plutarch, we find all, more or less, confirmed by the elder writers of the highest authority. See Plato Menexen. p. 240. Mitford's Greece, ch. vii. sect. 4. note.

<sup>b</sup> No account is given by Herodotus of any thing done by the Persian horse, though he speaks of it as numerous. The detail however which he afterward gives of actions of the Persian cavalry previous to the battle of Plataea, together with every description of the field of Marathon, sufficiently accounts for their inaction and inefficiency there. Mitford, vii. 4. note.

<sup>c</sup> It is very surprising that Herodotus

has made no mention of the exploits of Aristides. His silence is supplied by Plutarch, (in Aristid. pag. 321.) Aristides was one of the ten generals, as was also Themistocles. He delivered his opinion in the council that they should immediately engage. When his day of command arrived, he yielded it to Miltiades, and his example was followed by all the others. See Plutarch. *Larcher*.

<sup>d</sup> The Rhetoricians say that he was pierced by such a number of spears and arrows, that he was supported by these weapons, and expired in a standing position. See Polemo Or. i. p. 2. *Wesseling*.

<sup>e</sup> Cynægirus was the brother of Æschylus, the celebrated tragic poet, (Suidas in Voc.) He distinguished himself in this battle, but it does not appear that he had any separate command, any more than Epizelus: See Plutarch. Oper. tom. ii. pag. 305. and Justin, ii. 9. *Larcher*.

<sup>f</sup> Το ἄφλαστον is the raised part of the poop composed of large and bent planks. This *Larcher* has proved in an elaborate note.

<sup>g</sup> Ἐξανακρονσάμενοι. I had interpreted this, in *puppim remigantes*; rowing, a-stern or backing water: as if it had

the rest, and having taken from the island in which they had left them, the Eretrian slaves, doubled the promontory of Sunium, with a design to surprise Athens before the return of the army. The Athenians say this measure was undertaken at the solicitation of the Alcmaeonidæ, and that they held up a shield<sup>h</sup> for a signal to the Persian fleet.

CXVI. However, whilst they were doubling the cape of Sunium, the Athenians decamping from the temple of Hercules in Marathon, marched with all possible diligence to the succour of their city<sup>i</sup>; and, before the Barbarians could arrive, came and encamped at another temple of Hercules, in Cynosarges. Upon which the Barbarians having appeared off Phalerum, the harbour of the Athenians, lay to with their fleet for some time, and afterwards sailed back towards Asia.

CXVII. In this battle of Marathon were killed<sup>k</sup> about six thousand three hundred of the Barbarians, and one hundred ninety-two Athenians. This was the exact loss of both sides<sup>l</sup>. But here I must not omit a most surprising thing which happened during that action. One Epizelus the son of Cuphagoras, an Athenian, fighting in his rank with a becoming valour, lost his sight on a sudden, without being struck by any weapon in close combat, or any missile in any part of his body;

been ἐπὶ πρύμνῃν ἀνακρουσάμενοι, which our author uses, viii. 84. Larcher also translated it, "ils se retinèrent sans "revirer de bord," and refers to the Schol. on Thucydides, i. 50. This interpretation would have very well agreed, if the ships had stood with their prows next the shore; and this we might suppose the case, if ἄφλαστα, (c. 114. l. 5.) which Cynægirus caught hold of, was the same as ἀκροστόλια, as some grammarians say. (See Heyne on Iliad xv. 717. and ix. 242.) But since it is clearly proved that the *aplustre* was in the stern of the ship, we shall more properly translate ἐξανακρουσάμενοι *citatis* (*valide pulsatis*) *remis sese recipientes*, rowing away with speed. Schweigh.

<sup>h</sup> This was for a signal to the Persians to attack Athens. Demetrius lifted up a gilded shield as a signal for battle. Diodorus Siculus, xx. 51. Reiske, after a great deal of trouble, in order to explain this passage, concludes his note thus, *scutum eam ad rem significandam tolli consuevisse, alibi non legi*. It was a thing agreed upon between the Alcmaeonidæ and the Persians. We must not look for any other mystery. Larcher.

<sup>i</sup> The Persians thought that they were fresh troops. Frontin. Stratagem. iv. 7. §. 43.

<sup>k</sup> Plutarch (de Herodot. Malign.) remarks, that Herodotus derogates from the victory by diminishing the number of the slain. Some affirm that the Persians lost 200,000 men on this occasion. Hippias, according to Justin (ii. 9.) and Cicero, (ad Attic. ix. Ep. 10.) perished in the battle. Suidas (in voce) says, that he fled to Lemnos, where he fell sick and died. Larcher.

Xenophon (Cyri Exped. iii. 2. §. 7.) relates, that the Athenians made a vow to sacrifice to Diana as many goats as they should kill enemies, and being unable to procure a sufficient number, they determined every year to sacrifice five hundred. Ælian (Var. Hist. ii. 25.) relates the same fact with some slight variation.

<sup>l</sup> The small proportion of the Athenians slain perhaps appears least consistent with the other circumstances. Yet it is countenanced by authentic accounts of various battles in different ages, and particularly those in our own history of Crecy, Poitiers, and above all, of Agincourt. When indeed the whole front of the soldier was covered with defensive armour, slaughter could seldom be great, but among broken troops, or in pursuit. Mitford's Greece, ch. vii. 4.



and, from that time, continued blind to the end of his life. I have heard that he affirmed concerning his misfortunes, that he thought he saw a man of uncommon height standing before him in complete armour, holding a shield covered by the length of his beard; and that this phantom, passing by him, killed the person who stood next in the rank.

CXVIII. Datis in his return to Asia, arriving at Myconus, saw a vision in his sleep. What the vision was, is not mentioned; yet upon the first dawn of day he ordered all the fleet to be searched; and, having found a gilded image of Apollo in one of the Phœnician ships, inquired from what temple they had taken it. When he was informed where they had obtained the statue, he sailed in his own ship to Delos, and, finding the inhabitants returned thither, he deposited the image in one of their temples; commanding the Delians to transport it to Delium a city of Thebes, built on the sea-coast over against Chalcis; and, after he had given this order, put to sea again. Nevertheless, because the Delians failed to execute his command, the Thebans themselves, sending to Delos upon the admonition of the oracle, brought away the statue twenty years after.

CXIX. In the mean time Datis and Artaphernes, arriving in Asia, conducted the Eretrian captives to Susa; and though Darius had expressed great indignation against the Eretrians, before the reduction of that place, and charged them with the guilt of beginning the war; yet, finding they were now his prisoners, and entirely in his power, he did them no other hurt, than to send them to inhabit a place in Cissia, in his own station, which is called Ardericea<sup>m</sup>, and is distant from Susa two hundred and ten stades, and forty from a well which yields three species of things, for they draw from it bitumen, salt, and oil, in this manner; it is used for the purpose of a water engine, to which the half of a leathern bag is attached instead of a bucket: a man having dipped down<sup>n</sup> with this, draws up the liquid, and pours it into a receiver, from thence it is poured into another, and is changed in three ways: the bitumen and salt presently form themselves into masses; and the oil, which is black, of a strong scent, and by the Persians called *rhadinace* is skimmed off and put into jars. In this country Darius placed the Eretrians, who still continue to inhabit the same region, and have preserved their ancient language to my time<sup>o</sup>. Thus I have finished what I had to say concerning the affairs of the Eretrians.

<sup>m</sup> This is not the place mentioned in book i. 185. that was in Babylon, whereas this was in Cissia. *Larcher*.

<sup>n</sup> Ὑπορύπτειν signifies to put one thing under another, in order to raise the other.

See note on iii. 130.

<sup>o</sup> If we can believe Philostratus, (in Vit. Apollon. i. 36.) they occupied the same place at the commencement of the Christian æra. *Larcher*.

**CXX.** After the full moon, two thousand Lacedæmonians arrived in Athens, with so great a desire of finding the enemy, that they had spent but three days in their march from Sparta to Attica: and though they came too late to be present at the battle, yet being violently bent upon seeing the Medes, they proceeded to Marathon; and, when they had satisfied their curiosity, commended the Athenians for their valour, and returned home.

**CXXI.** But I am amazed, and can never admit the story that the Alcæonidæ should, from an agreement with the Persians, hold up a shield for a signal; as if they would have wished to see the Athenians subject to the Barbarians, and to Hippias; they who had ever shewn as much hatred to tyrants, or more, than Callias the son of Phænippus, and father of Hipponicus; though Callias was the only man among the Athenians, who, besides many other actions of the utmost enmity, had the courage to purchase the goods of Pisistratus, when, after his expulsion, they were publicly sold by a decree of the people.

**CXXII.** Callias indeed deserves<sup>p</sup> to be frequently mentioned by every one; as well for his zeal, which I before mentioned, in restoring the liberty of his country, as for the actions he performed at the Olympian exercises. He won the race with a single horse, and was second in the quadrijugal course. He had been before victorious in the Pythian solemnities, and distinguished himself by his magnificence in the view of all the Grecians. He was so indulgent to his three daughters, that when they had attained to marriageable years, he presented them with a magnificent dowry, and bestowed on them this gratification; he gave them in marriage to whomsoever they might select from all the Athenians.

**CXXIII.** But since nothing is more evident, than that the Alcæonidæ were no less haters of tyrants than Callias, my wonder is the greater; and I can never believe that they made a signal to the Persians; they, I say, who in all time had avoided to live under tyranny, and had actually, by their contrivance, expelled the family of Pisistratus; acquiring by that action a better title, in my opinion, to be called the deliverers of Athens, than Harmodius and Aristogiton. For these men, by killing Hipparchus, only exasperated those who survived; but could not prevent them from continuing the tyranny. Whereas the Alcæonidæ manifestly restored the freedom of Athens, if we may believe that they induced the Pythian to admonish the Lacedæmonians to rescue the Athenians from servitude, as I mentioned before<sup>q</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> Valckenaer and Larcher suppose that the whole of this chapter has no business

here: it is wanting in some manuscripts.  
<sup>q</sup> See book v. ch. 63, 66.



CXXIV. Perhaps some may pretend, that from some discontent towards the people, they endeavoured to betray their country: on the contrary, no men were ever in greater esteem among the Athenians, or had a greater share in the public honours; and therefore reason forbids us to think that they held up the shield on that account. That a shield was seen, cannot be denied, for the thing was done; but who the person was that held it up, I am unable to determine any farther.

CXXV. The Alcmaeonidæ had from their first origin been considerable in Athens, and received an additional lustre from Alcmaeon and Megacles. For when the Lydians were sent by Croesus to consult the oracle of Delphi, Alcmaeon the son of Megacles assisted them, and zealously forwarded their plans: Croesus, having learnt that he did great services to the Lydians, who went to consult the oracle, sent for him to Sardis, and, after his arrival, gave him as much gold as he could carry about his body at once. To receive this present Alcmaeon contrived and applied<sup>r</sup> the following plan: he put on a large tunic, in which there were wide folds, and fastened to his feet the most capacious buskins he could find, and thus went to the treasury, to which he was conducted by the attendants. He there threw himself upon a great heap of gold dust; and first crammed as much into his buskins as they could contain, he next filled the folds of his garments, and then, having sprinkled some of the dust in his hair, and taken some more in his mouth, he went out of the treasury, hardly able to drag his buskins after him, and resembling any thing rather than a man, since his mouth was stuffed up and every thing was swelled to a great size. When Croesus saw him, he broke out into a fit of laughter, and gave him all he had brought out, with many other presents of no less value. Thus that family became very rich: and Alcmaeon having thus kept horses, won the quadrigal prize at the Olympic games.

CXXVI. But in the second generation after him, Clisthenes tyrant of Sicyon, raised this house so that it became much more celebrated throughout Greece than before. This Clisthenes, who was the son of Aristonymus, and grandson to Myron the son of Andreus, had a daughter named Agarista, whom he purposed to marry to the man he should judge most worthy among all the Grecians. To that end, during the Olympic solemnity, in which Clisthenes obtained the victory<sup>s</sup> in the quadrigal race, he caused open proclamation to be made, that whoever of the Greeks thought himself worthy to

<sup>r</sup> Πρὸς τὴν δωρεάν, &c. Ad donum illud (sc. capiendum) tale inventum adtulit Callias. Schweigh.

<sup>s</sup> We are unable to find Clisthenes among the Olympic victors. Larcher.

be son-in-law to Clisthenes, should come to Sicyon before the expiration of sixty days; because he had determined to marry his daughter within the compass of a year after that time. Upon which notification all such Grecians as were proud of their own personal merit, or the fame of their country, came as suitors; whom Clisthenes having prepared a course and palaestra<sup>†</sup>, detained, in order to make trial of them.

CXXVII. From Italy arrived Smindyrides<sup>‡</sup> the son of Hippocrates, a man plunged in voluptuousness beyond most examples, and born at Sybaris, which was then at the height of its prosperity; with Damas of Siris, the son of Samyris, surnamed the Wise. From the gulf of Ionia came Amphimnestus the son of Epistrophus of Epidamnus; and from Ætolia, Males the brother of Titormus<sup>§</sup>, who surpassed all the Grecians in strength, and had retired from men to the extremities of Ætolia. From Peloponnesus, arrived Leocedes the son of Phidon<sup>¶</sup>, tyrant of Argos; of that Phidon, I say, who established measures to the Peloponnesians; and exceed-

<sup>†</sup> Not unlike to this conduct of Clisthenes were the solemnities described in books of romance and chivalry, as preceding the nuptials of a king's daughter. The knight who was victorious at tilts and tournaments, generally captivated the affections of the lady, and obtained the consent of the father. *Beloe.*

<sup>‡</sup> This man took with him a thousand cooks, and a thousand fowlers, (*Athen. Deipnosoph. xii. 11.*) Seneca (*de Ira, ii. 25.*) gives the following account of him; "Smindyridem aiunt fuisse ex Sybaritarum civitate; qui cum vidisset fodientem, et altius rastrum allevantem, lassum se fieri questus, vetuit illum opus in conspectu suo facere; idem sæpius questus est quod foliis rosæ duplicatis incubisset." *Larcher.*

<sup>§</sup> This man, according to Athenæus, (*x. 2.*) one day disputed with Milo of Crotona, which could soonest devour a whole ox. *Larcher.*

<sup>¶</sup> As the text now stands, Herodotus confounds the two Phidons together, and this is not probable, as he lived so near the time of the last. *Larcher* follows the correction of Gronovius, by which it becomes "son of Phidon, tyrant of Argos," and descended from that Phidon," &c. &c. See *Larcher's* learned note.

It would be of some importance, if it were possible to determine the age of Phidon. The circumstance of his having assumed the presidency of the Olympian festival, were the Olympian regis-

ter perfect, should have put his age beyond question; yet authors who possessed the best means of information are not to be reconciled concerning it. Pausanias (*vi. 22.*) says that he presided in the eighth Olympiad. But, according to Strabo (*viii. p. 355.*) the Eleians presided without interruption to the twenty-sixth; and if the copies of Herodotus are faithful, Phidon must have lived toward the fiftieth Olympiad, where Newton would fix him. The copies of Herodotus are not without the appearance of defect where Phidon is mentioned. The chronologers have been desirous of imputing error to those of Strabo, but that writer, as his copies now stand, is consistent with himself; and, upon Newton's system, consistent with Herodotus. It can scarcely be said that Pausanias is consistent with himself; at least he is very deficient, when it clearly is his desire to give full information. I am therefore inclined, with Newton, to suppose an error in the date which stands assigned, as on his authority, for the presidency of Phidon. That ready method for accommodating chronological difficulties by the supposition of two or more persons of the same name, in the same situation, and sometimes of the same character and the same fame, in different ages, has been employed to adjust the age of Phidon: but we find no historical authority for the existence of more than one king of Argos of that name. *Mitford's Greece, App. to ch. 3.*



ing all the Grecians in arrogance, removed the Elean agono-thetæ<sup>2</sup>, and assumed to himself the power of regulating the Olympian exercises; Amiantus an Arcadian of Trapezus and son to Lycurgus; with Laphanes the Azanian of Pæus, son of that Euphorion, who, according to a common report, entertained Castor and Pollux in his house, and from that time received all strangers with great hospitality: these, with Onomastus of Elis, the son of Agæus, came from Peloponnesus. From Athens came Megacles the son of that Alcmaeon who visited Croesus; and Hippoclides the son of Tisander, in riches and beauty surpassing all the Athenians of his time. From Eubœa Lysanius alone, a native of Eretria, which was then in a flourishing condition. From Thessaly, Diactorides of Cranon of the family of Scopadæ<sup>3</sup>; and from the Molossians, Alcon. Such was the number of suitors.

CXXVIII. When these had arrived on the day appointed, Clisthenes, in pursuance of his design, first examined every one touching his country and descent: after which he detained them a whole year, in order to try their merit, temper<sup>b</sup>, education, and manners; conversing<sup>c</sup> with them frequently apart, and together, and conducting the youngest to the gymnastic exercises. Above all he endeavoured to discover their inclinations when he entertained them with feasting; for he tried all experiments, and treated them with great magnificence during the whole time they stayed with him. But among the several candidates he principally favoured the Athenians; especially Hippoclides the son of Tisander, who was preferred for his merit, and because his ancestors were related to the Cypselidæ of Corinth.

CXXIX. When the day appointed for the celebration of the marriage<sup>d</sup>, and the declaration of Clisthenes, had arrived; he sacrificed a hecatomb, and feasted all the suitors and the Sicyonians. After supper they entered into a dispute concerning music, and other things that occasionally fell into discourse at that time: and, as the wine went about<sup>e</sup>, Hippoclides attracting the attention of all the company, commanded the musician to play a tune called Emmelia<sup>f</sup>; in which being

<sup>2</sup> These were the judges and umpires of the games.

<sup>3</sup> The riches of this family became proverbial. Critias, one of the thirty tyrants, wishes for the wealth of the Scopadæ in his Elegies. See Plutarch in Cimon. p. 484. Larcher.

<sup>b</sup> Ὀργή, ingenium, indoles, animi impetus. Schweighæuser. It is used also in this sense in book i. 73.

<sup>c</sup> Ἐς συνουσίην ὦν: as in ii. 78. συνουσία has a wider signification than

συνεστία: it implies also conversation and familiar intercourse: συνεστία signifies only a banquet. Schweigh.

<sup>d</sup> Κατάκλισις τοῦ γάμου, is properly the act of placing the bridegroom in the nuptial bed, by the side of his bride, or the act of reclining at table on a couch, by the side of his spouse. Larcher.

<sup>e</sup> In Greece they did not drink till after they had done eating. See Xenoph. Anab. vii. 3. sect. 12. Larcher.

<sup>f</sup> Dances were divided into warlike,

readily obeyed, he danced with much satisfaction to himself; though Clisthenes, observing all that passed, began to look at him with displeasure<sup>g</sup>. When Hippoclides had finished his dance, and rested some time, he commanded a table to be brought in; which was no sooner done, than mounting upon it, he first imitated the Laconian dances, and then other Attic ones; and, last of all, setting his head upon the table, and erecting his feet, he gesticulated with his legs, as if they had been hands. Though at the first and second of these dances Clisthenes was too much disgusted to choose Hippoclides for a son-in-law, on account of his dancing and want of modesty, yet he contained himself, not wishing to break out against him. But when he saw him endeavouring with his legs to imitate the actions of his hands, he could no longer contain himself, but cried out, "O son of Tisander, thou hast danced away thy marriage." The other sharply replied, "No matter to Hippoclides." Which saying afterwards obtained the authority of a proverb.

CXXX. Then Clisthenes, having commanded silence, spoke to the assembly. "O suitors of my child, I commend you all, and would willingly gratify you all, if I could, without distinguishing any one in particular, or rejecting the rest. But because I have no more than one daughter, and consequently cannot comply with the desires of so many persons, I give a talent of silver to every one of those who shall be excluded, in acknowledgment of the honour you have conferred on me, in wishing to marry my daughter, and on account of the time you have spent in a long absence from your habitations; and I affiancé my daughter Agarista to Megacles the son of Alcmaëon, according to the laws of the Athenians." Megacles immediately accepted the alliance, and the marriage was ratified by Clisthenes.

CXXXI. Thus the dispute so long depending between these rivals was determined, and the Alcmaëonidæ became famous in Greece. Of this marriage was born a son, named Clisthenes from the father of his mother, who divided the Athenians into tribes<sup>h</sup>, and established the democratical government. Megacles had also another son named Hippocrates, who was the father of another Megacles, and of another Agarista, so called from the daughter of Clisthenes. This Agarista being afterwards married to Xanthippus the son

which were called Pyrrhic, and those of peace which were called Emmelias: the airs to which they danced bore the same name. Some of the Emmelias were decent and modest, others were in-

decent and immodest. See Larcher's elaborate note.

<sup>g</sup> Ὑποπτεύειν signifies *circumspicere, limis et iratis oculis adspicere*. Wesseling.

<sup>h</sup> See book v. 69.



of Ariphron, and big with child, dreamt she had brought forth a lion, and within few days was delivered of Pericles.

CXXXII. Miltiades, after the defeat at Marathon, acquired a much greater reputation in Athens than he had before, demanded seventy ships of the Athenians, with men and money proportionable, in order to undertake an expedition, which he kept private, but only told them, that if they would follow him, he would put them into possession of great riches, as he would lead them into a country, from whence they should bring home gold in abundance without difficulty. The Athenians elated with hope, gave him the ships.

CXXXIII. When Miltiades had received the armament, he set sail for Paros, under colour that the Parians had sailed in a trireme with the Persians to Marathon, and thus began hostilities. But the truth is, he was incensed against the Parians, because Lysagoras the son of Tiseas, a man of Parian extraction, had spoken ill of him to Hydarnes the Persian. When Miltiades arrived at Paros, he besieged the city, and sending in his heralds, demanded a hundred talents of the Parians; threatening, in case of refusal, not to draw off his army before he had taken the place. But the Parians did not think of giving the money to Miltiades, but applied themselves wholly to contrive by what means they might defend the city; repairing their fortifications in divers places, and working in the night, till they had made their walls doubly higher than before, in that part where they were most easily assailed.

CXXXIV. Thus far all the Grecians agree in their report: the rest, as the Parians alone say, passed in this manner. When Miltiades was embarrassed<sup>1</sup>, one Timo, a woman of Paros, sub-priestess of the national gods, and then his prisoner, came to him and counselled him, if he valued the taking of Paros, to do as she should advise. Miltiades having heard her proposal, went directly to the hill which is before the city and leapt over the wall of the temple of Ceres the legislatress, since he was unable to open the gate; he then went towards the temple, in order to do something, or to move something, which ought not to have been moved. But while he stood before the doors, he was seized with a sudden horror, and went back the same way, and as he was leaping over the wall, he sprained his thigh, though some say he bruised his knee.

CXXXV. Miltiades being thus in a bad state, sailed away without carrying any money to the Athenians, or having taken

<sup>1</sup> The account of Cornelius Nepos is very different.

Paros, after he had ravaged the country, and besieged the city twenty-six days. When the siege was raised, the Parians, being informed of the counsel which Timo had given to Miltiades, and desiring to bring her to justice, sent deputies to inquire of the oracle at Delphi, whether they should punish her with death, for endeavouring to betray the city to the enemy, and discovering the sacred mysteries to Miltiades, which ought not to be revealed to any man. But the Pythian, not permitting them to do as they desired, affirmed that Timo was not the author of that advice; and that the gods having determined the destruction of Miltiades, had only made her the instrument of his death. This answer the Pythian gave to the Parians.

CXXXVI. When Miltiades returned to Athens, all the Athenians questioned his conduct, and none more than Xanthippus the son of Ariphron, who accused him to the people for deceiving the Athenians, and desired he might be punished with death. Miltiades could not be present to defend himself, because his thigh beginning to mortify, rendered him unable. But when he was brought forth on a couch his friends made a defence for him, reminding them of the actions he performed at Marathon, together with the acquisition of Lemnos; which Miltiades reduced under the dominion of Athens, and inflicted vengeance on the Pelasgians for the injuries they had done to the Athenians. The people so far favoured him that they would not sentence him to death<sup>k</sup>; but fined him fifty talents<sup>l</sup> for his crime. Soon after which, Miltiades ended his life by the putrefaction and mortification of his thigh; and his son Cimon paid his fine<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> Plato (in Gorgic tom. i. p. 516.) assures us that he was condemned to be precipitated into the barathrum, and that had not the Prytanis interposed he would have been hurled down. It is to be wished that Plato had also preserved the name of the generous citizen who preserved his life. *Larcher*.

<sup>l</sup> This, according to Cornelius Nepos, was the sum which was expended on the armament.

<sup>m</sup> Cornelius Nepos, Plutarch, Valerius Maximus, and Justin, all affirm, that Miltiades was thrown into the common prison, and died there: and they add some circumstances to improve the story. On such a concurrence of authority, I thought myself warranted to report the simple circumstance (though Herodotus has omitted mention of it) that Miltiades died in prison. But looking into Bayle's Dictionary (article Cimon,) I found this

passage; "Herodote, parlant du proces de Miltiade, ne dit rien, ni de la prison du pere, ni de la prison du fils, et il insinue clairement que Miltiade ne fut point emprisonné;" and a little farther a quotation from Plato, (Georg. p. 516.) which so confirms his opinion, that I do not hesitate to reject the reports of the later writers. Bayle translates *βάραθρον*, I think properly, *le Cachot*. Originally that word is said to have been the name of a deep pit in Attica, which, in early times, was used as a place for capital punishment, by throwing criminals headlong upon sharp stakes fixed at the bottom. That cruel mode of execution was, we are told, (Schol. in Plut. Aristoph. v. 431.) by the advice of an oracle, afterwards disused, and the pit was filled: the name nevertheless remaining as the common term for a dungeon. Mitford's Greece, ch. vii. sect. y. note.



**CXXXVII.** As for Lemnos, Miltiades took possession of that island in the following manner. The Pelasgians had been already driven out of Attica by the Athenians; whether justly or unjustly I shall not determine; having nothing more to say than what is reported on both sides. Hecataeus the son of Hegesander affirms they were unjustly expelled. For, says he, when the Athenians saw that the lands about Hymettus<sup>n</sup>, which they had given to the Pelasgians in payment, for the wall they had built about the Acropolis, were improved from a barren and unprofitable soil, into a fertile and well-cultivated region, they grew envious of their prosperity; and coveting to resume the country, drove out the Pelasgians without any other pretence whatever. On the other hand the Athenians affirm, that they were justly ejected. For they say that while the Pelasgians continued to inhabit under mount Hymettus, they made incursions from thence, and committed the following injuries. Their daughters used to go for water to a place called the *Nine Fountains*<sup>o</sup>, because in those times neither they nor any other people of Greece were furnished with slaves; that the Pelasgians used, from insolence and pride, to offer violence to them, and not satisfied with this, they at last were discovered in the very act of forming a design against Athens; and that the Athenians shewed themselves so much the more generous, inasmuch as when they had the power of punishing these offenders, since they had found them plotting against them, they would not do so, but commanded them only to depart the country; which the Pelasgians obeying, possessed themselves of other places, and Lemnos in particular. Thus Hecataeus relates this occurrence in one manner, and the Athenians in another.

**CXXXVIII.** But those Pelasgians who inhabited in Lemnos, desiring to be revenged, and knowing all the festival days of the Athenians, fitted out some galleys of fifty oars each; and having laid an ambuscade for their women<sup>p</sup>, as they

<sup>n</sup> This mountain was situated E. S. E. of Athens and the Ilissus, towards the Saronic gulf. It was celebrated for its honey and quarries of marble. It now bears the name of Hymetto.

<sup>o</sup> This fountain was called Callirhoe. It took its rise at the foot of Hymettus. Pisistratus conducted it to Athens and distributed its waters by nine pipes. Hence it derived the name of Ennea Croni.

<sup>p</sup> In the Greek we find, τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας. It is worth while observing that the Athenians, who called themselves Ἀθηναῖοι, never gave their women the name of Ἀθηναῖαι, because

Minerva is called in Homer (Iliad, i. lib. 12.) Ἀθηναία. They designated their women by a periphrasis, as in this passage, or by the word Ἀσραι, because Athens was called Ἄστυ, or the city, by way of excellence.

The Pelasgians took away the Canephori, or young women who carried the sacred baskets at the feast of Diana. The festival was called Brauronia, from the name of the place in which it was celebrated. A goat was sacrificed, and portions of Homer sung by the Rhapsodists. It was celebrated every five years. Young girls, sacred to Diana, celebrated the feast in saffron-coloured robes; they

celebrated the feast of Diana in Brauron, they surprised a great number; carried them away to Lemnos, and kept them for concubines. These women having many children, taught them the language of Attica, and manners of the Athenians; by which means they not only refused to converse with the sons of the Pelasgian women, but if any one of their number was attacked, they all immediately ran to his assistance, and revenged one another; and they even thought that they ought to govern the others, and proved far superior to them. When the Pelasgians were informed of these things, they consulted together, and considered it a very serious matter: If, said they, at these years they have learned to defend one another, and constantly endeavoured to usurp a superiority over the children of our legitimate wives, what will they not do, when they attain to the age of men? upon which they resolved to murder the children they had by the women of Attica; and, to complete their cruelty, dispatched the mothers after them. From this atrocious crime, and that which was perpetrated before by those women, who with the assistance of Thoas<sup>9</sup> killed their husbands, all enormous actions pass among the Grecians under the name of Lemnian.

CXXXIX. But the Pelasgians, after the murder of those children, with their mothers, perceiving their lands to become barren, their wives unfruitful, and their flocks not to yield the usual increase; tormented with famine, and destitute of children, sent to Delphi, in order to be informed by what means they might be delivered from these calamities; and being admonished by the Pythian to give satisfaction to the Athenians in the manner they should desire, they went to Athens, and professed themselves ready to suffer any punishment they should think fit to impose on account of the whole injury. The Athenians having heard their offer, spread a couch in the Prytaneum, in the most magnificent manner, and having placed by it a table covered with every thing good, they commanded the Pelasgians to surrender their country, in as excellent a condition. To which they answered, "When a ship shall make the voyage in a single day by the north wind from our country to yours, we will then deliver it up." This they said as they supposed the thing to be impossible, because Attica is situate much more south than Lemnos.

might not be more than ten or less than five years old. So that the women of whom Herodotus speaks, were really young girls, not yet marriageable. *Larcher.*

<sup>9</sup> Later writers have made Hypsipyle preserve the life of her father Thoas. The following was the reason that the Lemnian women murdered their hus-

bands. The Lemnian women (Schol. Eurip. *Hecub.* 887.) used annually to celebrate a festival in honour of Venus; but having neglected this, the Goddess punished them by giving them so disagreeable an odour, that their husbands shunned them. The women, thinking themselves despised, slew all the men. *Larcher.*



CXL. But many years after they had given this answer, when the Hellespontine Chersonese became subject to the Athenians, Miltiades the son of Cimon, having embarked at Eleus, a city on the Hellespont, was carried by a strong Etesian wind in one day to Lemnos; and, immediately commanding the Pelasgians to depart out of the island, reminded them of the oracular words<sup>r</sup>, which they expected never to see accomplished. The Hephæstians obeyed the order of Miltiades: but the Myrinæans, not acknowledging the Chersonese to be Attica, sustained a siege, till they were compelled to surrender. And in this manner Lemnos was reduced under the power of the Athenians and Miltiades.

<sup>r</sup> A speech of the kind related in the last chapter, though delivered by common persons, was frequently considered pro-

phetic. An instance occurs in book iii. ch. 153.

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
HERODOTUS.

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BOOK VII.

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POLYMNIA.

WHEN Darius the son of Hystaspes had received the news of the battle fought at Marathon, he became much more indignant with the Athenians, having been very much exasperated<sup>a</sup> with them before, on account of the attack upon Sardis, and became much more eager to carry on the war against Greece. He immediately sent messengers to the several cities of his dominions, enjoining every one in particular to prepare a greater number of forces than before, and ships of war<sup>b</sup>, horses and transports. These commands being sent around, Asia was thrown into agitation during the space of three years. But in the fourth year, when the bravest men were enrolled and preparing, in order to invade Greece, the Egyptians, who had been subdued by Cambyzes, revolted from the Persians. Upon this Darius only became more eager to march against both.

II. But when he had prepared all things for his expeditions to Greece and Egypt, a great contest arose, between his sons, concerning the succession of the kingdom; for by the customs of Persia the king is obliged to nominate his successor, before he marches out on any expedition. Darius had three sons by the daughter of Gobryas, his first wife, all born before he was king; and after his accession to the throne, he had four more

<sup>a</sup> Κεχαραγμένος. Χαράσσειν properly signifies to engrave, to make incisions, hence to irritate, exasperate.

<sup>b</sup> Νέες or νῆες are vessels of war; πλοῖα,

vessels to carry provisions, or to transport cavalry. This distinction is clearly marked in book vi. ch. 48. last line. Valckenaer.



by Atossa the daughter of Cyrus. Of the first, Artabazanes was the eldest; of the latter Xerxes: and these two being born of different mothers, disputed concerning<sup>c</sup> the succession. Artabazanes urged that he was the eldest of all the sons of Darius, and that it was acknowledged by all men that the eldest son should possess the kingdom: on the other hand, Xerxes alleged that he was the son of Atossa the daughter of Cyrus, who had acquired freedom for the Persians.

III. Darius had not yet declared his opinion, when Demaratus the son of Ariston, who had been deprived<sup>d</sup> of the kingdom of Sparta, and had voluntarily fled from Lacedæmon, happened to come up to Susa<sup>e</sup> at the same time. This person having heard of the difference between the sons of Darius, went to Xerxes, as report says, and counselled him to add these reasons to his defence; that he was born after Darius had obtained the kingdom, with all the dominions of Persia; whereas, Artabazanes was born when Darius was yet a private man; and consequently, that any other should possess that dignity in preference to him would be contrary to the rules of equity and justice; since also in Sparta<sup>f</sup>, Demaratus continued to suggest, this custom prevailed, that if some children were born before their father was made king, but another later, when he had now come to the throne, this last born son should succeed to the kingdom. Xerxes adopted the suggestion of Demaratus, and Darius having acknowledged the justice of it, declared him king. But I am inclined to believe, that without this advice, Xerxes would ~~not~~ have been king; for Atossa<sup>g</sup> had the chief authority.

IV. When Darius had nominated<sup>h</sup> Xerxes to succeed him, he prepared to march. It happened, however, that after these things and the revolt of Egypt, while he was in the following year making preparations, Darius died after a reign of thirty-six years; nor was it possible for him to inflict vengeance<sup>i</sup> either on the Egyptians or Athenians.

<sup>c</sup> The account of Plutarch differs very materially. *De Fratern. Amor.* tom. ii. pag. 488.

<sup>d</sup> See book vi. ch. 70.

<sup>e</sup> Xerxes (Xenophon *Hellen.* iii. 1. §. 4.) gave Demaratus the cities of Pergamus, Teuthrania, and Halisamia, because he accompanied him in his expedition into Greece. Eurysthenes and Procles enjoyed them about the end of the first year of the 95th Olympiad, that is 78 years after. *Larcher.*

<sup>f</sup> On this subject see H. Grotius, *Jur. Belli et Pacis*, ii. 7. 13. *Wesseling.*

<sup>g</sup> See iii. 68. 88. 134. She was the

first, according to Hellanicus, (*Clem. Alex. Stromat.* i. 16.) who wrote letters. If we may believe Aspasius (*ad Aristot. Rhet.* pag. 124.) she came to a most miserable end. In a fit of frenzy, her son Xerxes tore her in pieces and eat her. *Larcher.*

<sup>h</sup> Ezekiel Spanheim (*ad Julian*, pag. 278.) pretends that the person appointed as successor became the colleague of his father, although his father might return safe and sound. Herodotus says nothing of it. *Larcher.*

<sup>i</sup> Aristotle (*Rhet.* ii. 20.) says, that Darius, after having subdued Egypt,

V. Xerxes the son of Darius succeeding him in the kingdom, was by no means eager at first to make war against Greece, but collected forces for the reduction of Egypt. But Mardonius the son of Gobryas by the sister of Darius, and consequently cousin to Xerxes, who had the greatest influence with him of all the Persians, spoke to him to this effect: "Sir, it is not proper that the Athenians should go unpunished, after all the mischiefs they have done to the Persians. However, at present finish the enterprize you have in hand; and when you shall see the insolence of the Egyptians humbled, lead your army against Athens; that you may acquire a good reputation among men, and any one for the future may be cautious of marching against your dominions." This discourse hitherto tended only to revenge, he also added, that Europe was a very beautiful country, produced all kinds of cultivated trees, and was very fertile, and fit to be possessed by the king alone.

VI. Mardonius said this, since he was desirous of new enterprizes, and wished to be himself governor of Greece; after some time he effected his purpose, and prevailed with Xerxes to do as he advised; for other things also contributed to persuade him. In the first place, ambassadors came from the Aleuadæ<sup>k</sup>, the kings of Thessaly, to invite the king to invade Greece, and using all earnestness to accomplish it. The Pisistratidæ likewise, then in exile at Susa, used the same language, and still more eagerly solicited him<sup>l</sup>, since they had with them a certain Athenian named Onomacritus, a soothsayer and seller of the oracles<sup>m</sup> of Musæus. This man was reconciled to them, and went up with them to Susa, but had been formerly their enemy. For he was first banished from Athens by Hipparchus the son of Pisistratus, upon the discovery of Lasus<sup>n</sup> the son of

passed over into Europe. The authority of Herodotus, who was almost a cotemporary, seems preferable to that of Aristotle, who lived a long time afterwards. It may be an error of the copyists. *Larch.*

<sup>k</sup> The family of the Aleuadæ reigned at Larissa, as appears from Aristotle (*Politic.* v. 6.) According to Herodotus (ix. 57.) there were three of these, Thorax, Thrasydeus, and Euripylus. *Larcher.*

<sup>l</sup> Προσοπέγυντο οἱ, &c. *Ad regem se applicabant, instabant regi, eumque urgebant.* Προσέφερο in line 25. is not so strong. *Schweigh.*

<sup>m</sup> Διαθήρην. Gronovius translates this word *venditorem*, et Valla, *edissertatorem*. Thom. Magist. interprets it, ὁ καθιστῶν καὶ οἰκονομῶν, and he is followed by

Wesseling. Onomacritus had in his care the writings of Musæus, occasionally consulted and interpreted them. But Herodotus says something more. Διαθήρης signifies *one who sells, deals in*, &c. We find in book i. ch. 1. διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρον, *to sell the cargo*; and in a number of passages in Xenophon and other authors. *Larcher.*

<sup>n</sup> Lasus was a musician, a poet, and also one of the seven sages of Greece, according to some. (Diogen. Laert. in Thalete, i. 42. cf. Suid. voc. Λάσος.) He is said to be the son of Charmantides, Sisymbrianus, or Chabrinus. He was born at Hermione, in Argolis. He instituted the Chori Cyclici, and invented the Dithyrambic verse. *Larcher.*



Hermion, who surprised him in the very fact of inserting a supposititious oracle among those of Musæus, importing that the islands about Lemnos should be swallowed up by the sea: and on that account Hipparchus expelled him out of Athens, although he had been particularly intimate with them. This Onomacritus, having accompanied the Pisistratidæ to Susa, when he came into the presence of the king, was spoken of by them in very high terms, and recited some of his oracles; always remembering to suppress those that foretold any disaster to the Barbarians, and producing only such as were favourable to their affairs. Among those of the last sort, he mentioned that a bridge should be laid over the Hellespont by a Persian; and alluded to the expedition. Thus he by his oracles, and the Pisistratidæ and Aleuadæ, by their opinions, assailed the king.

VII. When Xerxes was persuaded to make war against Greece, he then, in the second year after the death of Darius, first made an expedition against those who had revolted, and, having reduced all Egypt to a worse condition of servitude than they had felt under his father, gave the government of that country to his brother Achæmenes the son of Darius; who was afterwards killed by Inarus<sup>o</sup> the son of Psammitichus, king of Lybia.

VIII. When Xerxes had thus recovered Egypt, and was about to take in hand the expedition against Athens, he summoned a council of the principal Persians, as well to hear their opinions, as to explain before all his intentions; and after they were all assembled, spoke to this effect:

“ I will not, O Persians, be the first to establish this custom among you, but will adopt it, as I have received it from my forefathers. For as I learn from men of elder years, from the time we wrested the power out of the hands of the Medes, and Cyrus dethroned Astyages, we have never lived an inactive life<sup>p</sup>; but a deity thus leads us on, and under his guidance we have attained to a great measure of prosperity. The actions performed by Cyrus, by Cambyzes, and by my father Darius, together with the nations they added to our empire, no one need mention to you who well know them. As for me, since I took possession of the throne, my principal care has been, not to fall short of my predecessors in this dignity, and to acquire as great a proportion of power to the Persians. Revolving these thoughts in my mind, I find that we may at once obtain a glorious name,

<sup>o</sup> See book iii. ch. 12.

<sup>p</sup> This is the motive also alleged by Æschylus, in the person of Atossa, for

the expedition of Xerxes. See the Persæ' v. 759.

“ and a country not inferior to that we now possess, but rather more abounding in all things; and at the same time  
 “ revenge for the injuries we have received. To this end  
 “ therefore I have now called you together, that I may communicate to you what I intend to do.

“ I design to lay a bridge over the Hellespont, and to lead  
 “ an army through Europe into Greece, that I may punish the  
 “ Athenians for the injuries they have done to the Persians  
 “ and to my father. You know Darius had determined to  
 “ make war against those men; but death prevented him from  
 “ executing his design. But I, in his cause and the cause of  
 “ the other Persians, will not lay down my arms, till I have  
 “ taken and burnt Athens; whose citizens, you know, first  
 “ commenced hostilities against me and my father. In the first  
 “ place, they invaded Sardis, in conjunction with Aristagoras  
 “ the Milesian, our servant, and burnt down the sacred groves  
 “ with the temples. And secondly, how they treated us,  
 “ when we made a descent into their territories, under the  
 “ conduct of Datis and Artaphernes, is sufficiently known to  
 “ you all.

“ On account of these things I have resolved to invade  
 “ their country with fire and sword; and in reflecting on the  
 “ matter, I find the following advantages in this conduct: if  
 “ we can subdue the Athenians, with their neighbours, who  
 “ inhabit the country of Pelops the Phrygian, the Persian  
 “ dominions will be bounded by no other limits than the heavens; nor will the sun look down upon any country which  
 “ borders on ours. For I intend, with your concurrence, to  
 “ march through all the parts of Europe, and to reduce the  
 “ whole earth into one empire; being well informed, that no  
 “ city or nation of the world will remain, which will be able  
 “ to come to a battle with us, after the reduction of those I  
 “ have mentioned. And thus not only the guilty, but likewise  
 “ those who are not guilty, must equally submit to the yoke of  
 “ servitude.

“ By doing these things you will gratify my desires; when  
 “ I shall have declared to you the time, it will be the duty  
 “ of each of you to come promptly. And I now promise,  
 “ that he who shall appear with the best provided troops,  
 “ shall be rewarded by me, with those gifts, which in our  
 “ country<sup>a</sup> are considered most honourable. But lest I

<sup>a</sup> Ἐν ἡμετέρῳ. The same expression occurs in book i. 35. and also in Dionys. Halic. (de vi dicendi in Demosth. sect. 41.) This has given some trouble, but as it is the reading of all the best manuscripts, it is retained. See Schæfer. ad Bos. Ellips. p. 345. Sch-

weighæuser, at the end of his note, remarks, that there are in every language numerous forms of expression, which although at variance with the rules of syntax, have been established by custom, *quem penes arbitrium est et jus et norma loquendi.*



“ should seem<sup>r</sup> to follow my own opinion only, I lay the matter before you, and desire every one that wishes, to declare his sentiments.”

IX. After Xerxes had finished these words, Mardonius rose up, and said, “ Sir, you are not only the most excellent of all the Persians that have lived before your time, but likewise of all that shall be born in future ages. Since in other things you have spoken most judiciously and truly; and will not suffer the European Ionians, vile as they are, to deride us with impunity<sup>s</sup>. For it would indeed be a great indignity, if, when we have conquered, and now hold in servitude the Sacæ, Indians, Ethiopians, and Assyrians, with many other powerful nations, which never did us any wrong, in order only to enlarge our dominions, we should suffer the Grecians to go unpunished, who have first provoked us by their injurious attempts? Of what are we afraid? What multitude of soldiers? What abundance of wealth?

“ We know their manner of fighting; and we are no less informed of their weakness. Besides we have already subdued their descendants the Ionians, Æolians, and Dorians, who inhabit within our territories. I myself made trial of them when I marched against them at the command of your father. I penetrated into Macedonia; and though I wanted but little of reaching Athens itself, no man had the courage to oppose my passage.

“ And yet on other occasions the Greeks, as I am informed, are accustomed to take up arms with very little deliberation, from obstinacy and folly. For when they have declared war against one another, they march into the best and most open plain they can find, and fight a battle; in which the conquerors never go away without great loss, and of the conquered, I say nothing, for they are utterly destroyed. Whereas, being of the same language, they ought rather to adjust their differences by ambassadors, and try all ways of accommodation, before they have recourse to arms; but if it were absolutely necessary to go to war with one another, they ought to find out where each nation is most unlikely to be conquered, and there try *the issue of a battle*. Yet these very men, though accustomed to this ill method,

<sup>r</sup> The end of this speech is very mild, but that which Valerius Max. attributes to the king is much more haughty. “ Ne viderer meo tantummodo usus consilio, vos contraxi. Ceterum meminitote parendum magis vobis esse, quam suadendum.” Lib. ix. c. 5. Valcken.

<sup>s</sup> Καταγέλασαι ἡμῖν. Herodotus frequently puts with a dative καταγέλασθαι and other similar words, which, from the force of *κατά*, are in other authors joined with a genitive. See iii. 37, 38, and 155. and iv. 79. Schweigh.

“ never ventured to come to a battle<sup>t</sup> with me, when I  
 “ marched as far as Macedonia.

“ How then shall any one oppose you, and offer battle to  
 “ you, when attended by all the forces and ships of Asia?  
 “ For my own part, I cannot imagine that the Grecians will  
 “ ever proceed to such a degree of audaciousness. But if I  
 “ should happen to be deceived, and if elated by folly they  
 “ should advance against us, let them learn that of all men,  
 “ we are the best in war. Let nothing then be untried; for  
 “ nothing is accomplished of its own-self, but all things are  
 “ commonly effected by being attempted.” Mardonius hav-  
 ing thus smoothed over the opinion of Xerxes, finished  
 speaking.

X. When the rest of the Persians continued silent, be-  
 cause they would not venture to propose a contrary opinion,  
 Artabanus the son of Hystaspes, and uncle to Xerxes, trust-  
 ing in this relationship, delivered his sentiments in the follow-  
 ing terms.

“ O king, unless opposite opinions are spoken, it is impos-  
 “ sible to choose the most advantageous, but it becomes  
 “ necessary to follow that which is proposed; whereas when  
 “ various and contrary opinions have been stated, it is possi-  
 “ ble: as we are unable to distinguish unalloyed gold by it-  
 “ self, but discern the best, when we have rubbed it<sup>u</sup> on the  
 “ Lydian stone near other gold. I endeavoured to dissuade<sup>x</sup>  
 “ Darius your father and my brother from making war against  
 “ the Scythians, a people who have no city any where; but  
 “ he, hoping to conquer the Nomades, rejected my advice;  
 “ undertook that expedition; and after he had lost the best  
 “ of his forces, was compelled to retire with the rest. You  
 “ are now disposing all things to attack a much braver  
 “ nation than the Scythians; men, who are said to be most  
 “ valiant both by sea and land; and therefore I think myself  
 “ obliged to inform you of the dangers that attend your en-  
 “ terprize.

“ You say, that after having thrown a bridge over the Hel-  
 “ lespont, you will march through Europe into Greece; but  
 “ it may possibly happen that we shall be worsted either by  
 “ land or by sea, perhaps in both: for, as I am informed, they  
 “ are a warlike people; and this one may conjecture, since

<sup>t</sup> ἦλθον ἐς τοῦτον λόγον might ap-  
 pear in this passage to signify *induxerant*  
*in animum*, came to a resolution; but by  
 comparing it with iii. 99. we perceive  
 that ἐς τοῦτον λόγον, in our author, is  
 nearly the same as ἐς τοῦτο. Schweigh.

<sup>u</sup> Alloyed gold cannot be discerned by

rubbing it with pure gold, and therefore  
 the texts presents great difficulties. I  
 have followed the interpretation of Sch-  
 weighæuser. Larcher adopts a different  
 reading.

<sup>x</sup> See book iv. ch. 83.



“ the Athenians alone defeated and ruined that numerous  
 “ army which invaded Attica, under the conduct of Datis and  
 “ Artaphernes. But supposing they are not successful<sup>1</sup> in  
 “ both, yet if they attack us with their fleet, and, after  
 “ having obtained a naval victory, should sail to the Helles-  
 “ pont, and destroy your bridge, we shall then be in great  
 “ danger.

“ I do not found this conjecture on my own wisdom. But  
 “ how near were we to utter destruction, when your father  
 “ had passed into Scythia by the bridges he laid over the  
 “ Thracian Bosphorus, and over the Ister! For the Scy-  
 “ thians arriving on the banks of that river, most earnestly  
 “ desired the Ionians, left there for a guard, to break the  
 “ bridge: and if Histiaëus tyrant of Miletus had assented to  
 “ the opinion of the rest, and had not opposed that design,  
 “ the power of Persia would have been ruined for ever. It  
 “ is dreadful even to hear it said, that the safety of the king  
 “ depended on a single man.

“ Let me persuade you therefore not to expose yourself to  
 “ so great dangers, since there is no necessity; dissolve this  
 “ assembly; and after a more deliberate reflection upon these  
 “ things, declare your intentions, and take such measures as  
 “ you shall judge most advantageous. I have ever found,  
 “ that to form a design upon the best counsels, is in all events  
 “ most useful: for if the expected success should not follow,  
 “ yet he who has taken the most rational measures, has al-  
 “ ways the satisfaction of having done his part; though for-  
 “ tune happen to be superior to wisdom. But he, who has  
 “ followed bad councils, if fortune attend him, has found a  
 “ prize, but has nevertheless the disgrace of having formed  
 “ bad councils.

“ Do you see how the deity strikes with his thunder those  
 “ animals which rise above others, and suffers them not to  
 “ cherish proud conceits<sup>2</sup>, while the lowly do not at all excite

<sup>1</sup> As the formula *οὐκ οὐν*, or *οὐκ οὐν*, is frequently used to express an interrogation, (on which see Hermann. ad Viger. not. 261.) it may be taken in that sense in this passage; but so that the interrogation may have the same force as a sentence expressed affirmatively, with the conditional particle *εἰ* prefixed, exactly as in book iv. 118. see the note. So that this passage becomes the same as if he had said *εἰ ὦν οὐκ ἀμφοτέρῃ*, (i. q. *κατ' ἀμφοτέρα*, lin. 21.) *σφί ἐχώρησε*, or *χωρήσει*. Schweigh.

<sup>2</sup> *Φαντάζεσθαι* sometimes signifies *conspici*, *apparere*, as in many passages of Euripides, and in our author, book iv.

124. 9. where *ἀφανισθῆναι* and *οὐ φαντάζεσθαι* are synonymous. Compare vii. 15. 9. But we may readily perceive that something more is intended in this passage; which Valla has not badly expressed, *nec sinit inolescere*. For, as *φαντασία* not only signifies *species*, *visus*, *aspectus*, but also *major quædam et insignior species*; (see Lexicon Polyb. p. 645.) so the verb *φαντάζεσθαι* denotes *insignem aliquam præ se speciem ferre atque ostentare*. See Steph. Thesaur. tom. iv. p. 37. Schweigh.

Larcher translates the passage “qu'ils  
 “ les fait disparaître.” See his note.

“ his jealousy? Do you see how he hurls his bolts against  
 “ the most stately edifices<sup>a</sup>, and most lofty trees? For the  
 “ deity takes a pleasure in cutting off whatever is too highly  
 “ exalted. Thus, a great army is often defeated by a small  
 “ number of men; when struck by the jealous God with a  
 “ panic fear, or terrified by the noise of his thunder, they  
 “ often perish ingloriously; because the deity will not suffer  
 “ any one to entertain lofty sentiments but himself.

“ In all actions precipitation produces errors; which for  
 “ the most part are attended with pernicious consequences.  
 “ But there are many advantages in delaying, though per-  
 “ haps not immediately apparent, yet after a time one may  
 “ perceive them.

“ This, O king, is the advice I would persuade you to  
 “ pursue: and as for thee, Mardonius, thou son of Gobryas,  
 “ cease to speak such vain words of the Grecians, who do  
 “ not deserve to be spoken ill of. By unjust detraction you  
 “ endeavour to engage the king to make war against them;  
 “ and in my opinion have strenuously exerted your efforts  
 “ that way. But heaven forbid that such methods should  
 “ prevail. For calumny is a most serious evil; in it two  
 “ commit injustice, but one is injured; for he who calumni-  
 “ ates another, acts unjustly by accusing an absent person;  
 “ and he who believes the calumny, is no less unjust, in  
 “ giving his assent to the accusation, before he is duly in-  
 “ formed. Whereas the absent person receives a double in-  
 “ jury, being falsely accused by one, and unjustly condemned  
 “ by the other.

“ But Mardonius, if nothing can dissuade you from making  
 “ war against the Grecians, let the king continue in Persia.  
 “ Let our children be deposited as a stake, and do you go on  
 “ with your expedition, accompanied by the best forces you  
 “ can choose, and in what numbers you think fit; and if  
 “ things succeed in the manner you suggest, let my children  
 “ be put to death, and myself also. But if, on the contrary,  
 “ the event be such as I foretell, then let your children suffer  
 “ death, and you also, if ever you return. If you refuse to  
 “ accept these conditions, and obstinately resolve to lead an  
 “ army against Greece, I venture to affirm, that some of those  
 “ you shall leave in this place, having learnt against what  
 “ people you are persuading the king to march, will hear that  
 “ Mardonius, having brought some fatal disaster upon the  
 “ Persians, was torn in pieces by dogs and birds<sup>b</sup>, in the ter-

<sup>a</sup> Compare Horace II. Ode x. ver. 9.  
 and seq.

<sup>b</sup> Compare Virgil:

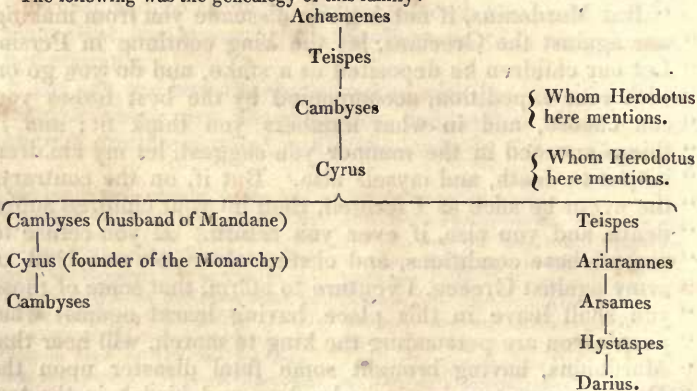
“ *Heu terrâ ignotæ, canibus data præ-*  
 “ *da Latinis,*  
 “ *Alitibusque jaces.*” *Æneid*, ix. 485.



“ territories of Athens, or Lacedæmon ; unless this befel him on his march, before he arrived in Greece.”

XI. When Artabanus had thus spoken, Xerxes, inflamed with anger, replied ; “ Artabanus,” said he, “ you are my father’s brother ; this will protect you from receiving the just recompence of your foolish discourse. Yet I will set a mark of dishonour upon you, since you are both base and cowardly ; you shall not accompany me in my expedition against Greece ; but shall stay here among the women, whilst I accomplish my designs without you. For I should not be the son of Darius<sup>c</sup>, who derived his blood from Hystaspes, Arsames, Ariaramnes, Teispes, Cyrus, Cambyses, and Achæmenes, unless I inflict vengeance upon the Athenians. I know too well that if we continue quiet, yet they will not, but will very soon invade our territories, if it is right to judge of their future enterprizes by those that are passed. They have already burnt Sardis, and made incursions into Asia. Thus both parties have advanced too far to retreat, but a struggle is proposed for us, in which we must inflict or suffer : and either all these dominions must fall under the power of the Grecians, or their country be an accession to this empire. For there is no mean in this enmity. It is honourable for us, who have first suffered, henceforth to take revenge, that I may be informed upon the place, what mischiefs those men can bring upon me, who were so entirely conquered by Pelops<sup>d</sup> the Phry-

<sup>c</sup> The following was the genealogy of this family :



See Larcher’s note, and also Bellanger’s elaborate note quoted by Larcher.

<sup>d</sup> Pelops and his father Tantalus were originally of Sipylus, a small town on the frontiers of Phrygia and Lydia. See Euripides, Iphigen. in Aulid. ver. 953.

Phrygia was not, at that time, under the dominion of the Persians or Medes ; but was dependant upon Assyria. (See Plato, Leg. iii. p. 685.) The Medes

“gian, a servant of my ancestors; that both the inhabitants and the country they possess, are still called by his name.”

XII. With these words Xerxes ended his speech. Afterwards, when night came on, the opinion of Artabanus began to cause uneasiness<sup>e</sup> to Xerxes; deliberating upon the matter by night, he discovered that it would not be to his advantage to make an expedition against Greece. Having thus altered his resolution, he fell asleep, and, according to the report of the Persians, saw in a dream a man of uncommon stature and beauty standing by him, and uttering these words: “Do you then change the design you had formed to lead an army into Greece, after having given positive orders to the Persians to assemble their forces? You do not well to alter your resolution, neither will you find any man who will agree with you. Take therefore that course, which you resolved upon in the day.” The phantom having pronounced these words, appeared to Xerxes to fly away.

XIII. When the day dawned, Xerxes, neglecting his dream, summoned the same persons together again, and said, “Pardon me, O Persians, if I make resolutions which are so soon changed; for I have not yet attained to the highest perfection of judgment, neither are those ever absent from my presence, who persuade me to this enterprize. When I heard the opinion of Artabanus, my youth immediately grew hot, so that I threw out more unbecoming words than I ought to a person of his years. But now acknowledging my error, I will follow his advice: and therefore since I have laid aside my design of invading Greece, you may enjoy the advantages of peace at home.” When the Persians heard this, they were transported with joy, and prostrated themselves before the king.

XIV. But in the following night the same dream stood again by Xerxes as he slept, and pronounced these words: “Son of Darius, you have then openly renounced, in the assembly of the Persians, your intended expedition; and make no account of my admonition, as if you had heard it from no one. Be well assured however of this, that unless you immediately undertake this enterprize, you shall become mean and contemptible, in as little time as you have been raised to greatness and power.”

XV. Terrified with this dream, Xerxes hastily left his

subdued the Assyrians, and the Persians overthrew their Empire and established their own. The kings of Media and Persia regarded the ancient kings of Assyria as their ancestors, because they had inherited their power. *Larcher.*

<sup>e</sup> The word *κνίζειν* does not so much signify *angere*, as *pungere*, *mordere*, *irritare*. In vii. 10. 49. *κνίζει μιν*, *invidiam illius movent*; excite his jealousy and bring down his vengeance upon themselves. *Schweigh.*



bed, sent for Artabanus, and when he came, spoke thus to him: "Artabanus, I did not on the moment act discreetly, when I reviled you with ill language for the good counsel you gave me. But after no long time I changed my opinion, and acknowledged that those measures, which you suggested were to be adopted. Nevertheless, whatever inclination I have to do so, I find the execution impossible. For I had no sooner altered my resolution, and acknowledged my error, than a dream twice came and appeared to me, which by no means approved of my pursuing that line of conduct; and it has just now vanished, after great threats. If then it is a deity which sends this dream, and if he is very desirous that an expedition to Greece should take place, the same dream, will appear to you and give you the same injunctions. This I think will happen if you should sit in the throne, clothed in all my royal robes, and afterwards sleep in my bed."

XVI. Artabanus did not obey the first order, as he did not think himself worthy of the honour of sitting on the king's throne<sup>f</sup>: but when he was at last compelled, he did as Xerxes desired, after he had delivered his sentiments in this manner.

"To form good plans, and to be willing to follow him who gives good counsel, are held by me in the same estimation<sup>g</sup>; both of which qualities attach to you, but the society of evil men overthrow them<sup>h</sup>; like the sea, which of all things is the most useful to mankind, yet the blasts descend upon it, and will not leave it in its natural state. As for me, when I heard your reproaches, I was not so much concerned for myself, as grieved to find that of two opinions, one of which tended no less to propagate insolence, than the other to suppress it, and to shew the vanity of inuring the mind incessantly to covet new acquisitions, you had chosen the worse and most dangerous to yourself and the Persians.

"Yet now, after you have changed to the better resolution, and quitted the design of invading Greece, you say that a vision, sent by some god, appears to you, which forbids you to abandon your enterprize. But know, my son, that this

<sup>f</sup> It was a capital crime in Persia to sit on the king's throne. "Illis enim (Persis) in sellâ regis consedissee capitale foret." Quint. Curt. viii. 4. sect. 17. Larcher.

<sup>g</sup> Larcher here quotes the following passages—

"Sapè ego audivi, milites, eum primum esse virum, qui ipse consulat quid in rem sit; secundum eum, qui

"bene monenti obediat." Livy, xxii. 29.

"Sapientissimum esse dicunt eum,

"cui quod opus sit veniat in mentem;

"proxime accedere illum, qui alterius

"bene inventis obtemperet." Cicero, pro Cluent, 31.

To these Valckenaer adds Hesiod. Opp. et Dieb. 293.

<sup>h</sup> "Evil communications corrupt good manners," 1 Cor. xv. 33.

" is not divine, for the dreams which wander about and appear to men are of the following nature. The visions of those things which have employed our thoughts by day<sup>i</sup>, are for the most part wont to hover around us in our dreams: and we have been for several days entirely occupied with the expedition to Greece.

" Now, if this be indeed a divine message, and not such a dream as I conjecture, you have said all in a word; and the vision will doubtless appear to me no less than to you, and command me the same things. But there is no reason that it should the rather appear to me, if I should be clothed in your robes, and lie in your bed, than if I wear my own garments, and sleep in my own bed; if indeed it will appear at all. For that which has appeared to you in your sleep, whatever it be, can never arrive to such a degree of simplicity as to suppose from your garments that I am you. But if the spectre shall hold me in contempt, and not condescend to appear to me, whether I be clothed in your robes, or in my own; and if it shall visit you again, then such an event will deserve consideration. For if you have the same dream frequently repeated, I myself must confess it to be divine. Nevertheless, if you have resolved to proceed this way, and will not be turned from your purpose, but it is necessary for me to sleep in your bed, I obey, and when this has been done, let the phantom appear to me also. But till that time I shall persist in my present opinion."

XVII. After these words, Artabanus, not doubting to shew the vanity of all that Xerxes had said, complied with his desires; clothed himself in the royal robes, and sat in the throne. He afterwards went to bed, and as he slept, the same phantom appeared<sup>k</sup> to him as had appeared to Xerxes, and it stood over him and said, "Art thou the man, who, as if watching over him, hast dissuaded Xerxes from invading Greece? But know, that thou shalt not with impunity endeavour to divert what is decreed, either now or in time to come: and as for Xerxes, he is sufficiently admonished of the calamities he shall suffer upon his disobedience."

XVIII. Artabanus imagined, that the dream uttered these threats, and was proceeding to burn out his eyes with a hot iron. Upon this, having uttered a loud shriek, he leaped from

<sup>i</sup> Beloe quotes the following from Locke on this subject; "The dreams of sleeping men are all made up of the waking man's ideas, though for the most part oddly put together."

<sup>k</sup> I archer supposes that some one had been hired by Mardonius or the Pisistratidæ to act the part of a ghost. This is also the opinion of Schweighæuser.



the couch, and went to Xerxes; where, after he had related all the particulars of the vision he had seen, he spoke to him in this manner: "I, O king, having already seen many and great powers<sup>1</sup> overthrown by inferior forces, would not suffer you to yield entirely to youth; well understanding the dangers that attend a boundless ambition. I called to mind the fortune of that army which Cyrus led against the Massagetæ; the expedition of Cambyses against the Ethiopians; and the invasion of Scythia, in which I accompanied your father Darius. From the consideration of these misfortunes, I was of opinion that you must be pronounced happy by all men, if you would live in peace. But since you are moved by a divine impulse, and some great disaster, decreed by heaven, seems ready to fall upon the Grecians, I change my opinion, and shall contend no longer: your part therefore will be, to inform the Persians of this divine message, and to command them to go on with their preparations for war, according to your former orders; that nothing on your part may be wanting, since the deity entrusts this to you." When he had said these words, and both were encouraged by the vision, Xerxes early the next morning acquainted the Persians with what had happened; and Artabanus, the only man who had before disapproved of the expedition, was now openly most zealous to promote it.

XIX. In the mean time Xerxes, having resolved to undertake the expedition, had another dream; which the Magi interpreted to relate to the whole world, and to signify that all mankind should be reduced under his power. For the king dreamt he saw himself crowned with the sprig of an olive-tree, the branches of which extended over all the earth; and that afterwards this crown disappeared from about his head. Upon this interpretation of the Magi, the Persians, who were then assembled in council, departed immediately to their several governments, and with the utmost diligence applied themselves to execute the king's orders; every man hoping to obtain the proposed reward. All the regions of the continent were searched, in order to compose this army.

XX. For from the time of the reduction of Egypt, four whole years were spent in assembling these forces, and providing all things necessary for this expedition. In the fifth year<sup>m</sup> Xerxes began his march with an incredible number of

<sup>1</sup> Compare Thucydides, book ii. ch. 98. 6.

<sup>m</sup> *Ἐρεῖ ἀνομῆνυρ volvente anno, quum quintus ageretur annus. Schweigh.*

Darius occupied three years in making the necessary preparations for his expedition to Greece, (vii. 1.) in the fourth

Egypt revolted, (ib. 4.) and in the following year, which was the fifth from the battle of Marathon, that prince died. Xerxes employed four years in making preparations, and in the course of the fifth set out. After a long march he arrived at Sardis, where he passed the

men. For this expedition was by far the greatest of all we know; so that that of Darius against the Scythians appears nothing, when compared with this; and also the Scythian army, which entering Media in pursuit of the Cimmerians, subdued almost all the upper Asia, on account of which Darius attempted to inflict vengeance on them; and that which under the conduct of the Atridæ marched, as we are told, to the siege of Troy; and that of the Mysians and Teucrians, who before the Trojan war passed over the Bosphorus into Europe, subdued all Thrace, and advancing to the Ionian sea, penetrated to the southward as far as the river Peneus.

XXI. All these expeditions, and any others besides which we have not mentioned, cannot be compared with this one of Xerxes<sup>a</sup>. For what people of Asia did he not lead against Greece? what waters, except those of great rivers, were unexhausted by his numerous forces? Some nations supplied ships; others were ordered to furnish horse, and others foot: some were obliged to build vessels for the transportation of horse; others to prepare long barks for bridges; and some to furnish corn, with ships to transport it.

XXII. As those who had first attempted to double mount Athos, had met with considerable disasters, he first of all employed nearly three years in making preparations about Athos. Some triremes were stationed at Eleus in the Chersonese, from thence detachments of every nation were sent, and were compelled by the scourge<sup>o</sup>, to dig a passage, and relieved one another at intervals. The adjoining inhabitants assisted them; and Bubaris the son of Megabyzus, with Artachæus the son of Artæus, both Persians, presided over the work. Athos is a mountain of great fame and magnitude, running out into the sea, and inhabited. It terminates to the landward in the form of a peninsula, and makes an isthmus of about twelve stades. This isthmus is a plain with some little hills, from the coast of Acanthus to the sea which is opposite Torone. On this isthmus<sup>p</sup>, where mount Athos terminates, stands Sana, a

winter, (ib. 32.) At the commencement of the spring he went to Abydos, (ib. 37.) and from thence into Greece. It follows from this calculation that Xerxes did not pass into Greece until the eleventh year after the battle of Marathon. This agrees with Thucydides, who says, (i. 18.) that this prince undertook the expedition on the tenth year after that battle. *Wesseling.*

<sup>a</sup> This expedition was foretold by Daniel 80 years before it took place. "Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; and the fourth shall be far

"richer than they all: and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia." Daniel xi. 2.

<sup>o</sup> Such was the military discipline of the Persians, of which we see several other examples in Herodotus and Xenophon. A soldier thus treated could not be sensible of honour. *Larcher.*

See what Aristotle observes on this subject, *Ethic. Nichom.* book iii. c. 8.

<sup>p</sup> A description of this isthmus which Darius cut through, and by which Athos was originally connected with the conti-



Grecian city: but those within Sana and on Athos itself, which the Persian resolved to place in an island, instead of a continent, were Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoon, Thyssus, and Cleonæ.

XXIII. The operation was carried on in this manner. The Barbarians having drawn a line before the city of Sana, divided the ground among the several nations: and when the trench was considerably sunk, those who were in the bottom continued to dig, and delivered the earth to men standing upon ladders, who handed the same again to such as were placed in a higher station, till at last others, who waited to receive the burthen at the edge of the canal, carried it away and threw it elsewhere. The brink of the trench falling in gave double labour to all the rest, except the Phœnicians; for as the top and bottom were made of equal breadth, such a thing would naturally happen. But the Phœnicians on this, in particular, as on other occasions, shewed their wisdom: for they opened the part which was assigned to their care, twice as large as it was necessary for the trench to be; and as they went on, they contracted it gradually, so that when they came to the bottom, the work was equal to the rest. In a meadow adjoining to this place they had a market<sup>a</sup>, and great abundance of flour was brought from Asia.

XXIV. My conjectures lead me to think, that Xerxes undertook this enterprize upon a motive of ostentation, in order to shew the greatness of his power, and to perpetuate

ment, and is at present again joined, is given by the illustrious Count de Choiseil-Gouffier, (*Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*, tom. ii. part 1. pag. 145, &c. Paris, 1809.) who declares that sufficiently clear traces of that ancient canal are now discovered. *Schweigh.*

Scarcely any circumstance of the expedition of Xerxes is more strongly supported by historical testimony than the making of the canal of Athos. The informed and exact Thucydides, who had property in Thrace, lived part of his time upon that property, and held at one time an important command there, speaks of the canal, made by the king of Persia, with perfect confidence. (Thucyd. iv. 109.) Plato, (*de Leg.* iii.) Isocrates, (*Paneg.* p. 222.) and Lysias (or. funeb.) all mention it as an undoubted fact; the latter adding, that it was, in his time, still a subject of wonder and of common conversation. Diodorus relates the fact not less positively than Herodotus. That part of Strabo, which described Thrace, is unfortunately lost; but the canal of

Xerxes remains confidently mentioned in the epitome of his work. The place was moreover so surrounded with Greek settlements, that it seems impossible for such a report, if unfounded, to have held any credit. At the very time of the expedition there were no fewer than five Greek towns on the peninsula of Athos itself, one even on the isthmus, situate, as Thucydides particularly mentions, close to the canal, and many on the adjacent coasts. Yet Juvenal has chosen the story of this canal for an exemplification of the Grecian disposition to lie; and a traveller, (Bellon. *Sing. Rer. Obser.* p. 78.) who two centuries ago visited, or thought he visited the place, has asserted that he could find no vestige of it. Mitford's *Greece*, ch. viii. sect. i. note 2.

<sup>a</sup> Ἀγορὴ τε καὶ πρήτηριον. Herodotus uses the figure, which grammarians call ἐν διὰ δυοῖν: by the addition of the word πρήτηριον, he shews what kind of ἀγορὴ is meant, viz. τῶν ὀνίων, τῶν πιπρασκομένων. *Schweigh.*

the memory<sup>r</sup> of his name. For though he might have caused his fleet to be conveyed over the land<sup>s</sup> without much difficulty, yet he would rather command the isthmus to be cut, and a canal to be made to receive the sea, of such a breadth as might be sufficient for two triremes to row a-breast. He likewise ordered the same men, who had been employed in this work, to lay a bridge over the river Strymon.

XXV. He caused cordage, made of the byblus and of white flax, to be prepared for the bridges, which he entrusted to the Phoenicians and Egyptians: he also ordered them to collect provisions for the army; that neither the men nor the cattle which were to be taken into Greece might suffer from famine: and having fully inquired into the situations of the places, he ordered them to carry provisions from every part of Asia, in vessels of burden and transports, and lay them in the most convenient spots. Of these provisions the greater quantity was carried to that part of Thrace which is called Leuce-Acte<sup>t</sup>. The rest was ordered to Tyrodiza of the Perinthians; to Doriscus; to Eion upon the Strymon; and to Macedonia.

XXVI. While these men were employed in executing the injunctions they had received, Xerxes having assembled his army, parted from Critalis<sup>u</sup> in Cappadocia, and marched to Sardis, which was the place appointed for the rendezvous of all the forces that were to accompany him from the continent. But I cannot affirm who was the general that received the rewards promised by the king, for bringing the best appointed troops; being altogether uninformed whether this question were ever brought into dispute. When the army had passed the river Halys, they marched through Phrygia, and arrived at Celænæ; where rise the springs of the Mæander, and of another river no less considerable, called the Catarractes; which rising in the public place of Celænæ, flows afterwards into the Mæander, in which city also the skin of Marsyas the

<sup>r</sup> It seems no rash conjecture that deep policy may have prompted this undertaking. To cross the Ægean, even now, with all the modern improvements in navigation, is singularly dangerous. To double the cape of Athos is still more formidable. The object, therefore, being to add the countries west of the Ægean to the Persian dominion, it was of no small consequence, to lessen the danger and delays of the passage for a fleet. Mitford's Greece, ch. viii. sect. 1.

<sup>s</sup> This was frequently done by the ancients. See Thucyd. iii. 15. 81. viii. 8. and Livy, xxv. 11. *Valckenaer*.

<sup>t</sup> The white coast. Leuce-Acte was a

shore and small town of Thrace, on the Propontis. Near Cardia there was a plain called *Πεδίον λευκόν*, the white plain; Leuce-Acte was situated at one extremity of this plain, and Pteleum at the other. The southern promontory of Eubœa, three hundred stades from Sunium, was also called Leuce-Acte. *Larcher*.

<sup>u</sup> This may be supposed to have been near the site of the present *Erekli*, (the *Archelais Colonia* of the Romans; in which position, no town is marked by Xenophon.) *Rennell*, p. 319.

*Larcher* is of the same opinion; see his *Table Geographique*.



Satyr<sup>x</sup> is suspended; which the Phrygians say was stripped off and hung up there by Apollo.

XXVII. Pythius<sup>y</sup> the son of Atys, a Lydian, then residing in Celænæ, entertained the king and all his army with great magnificence, and offered him his treasures towards the expence of the war: when he made this offer of his treasures, Xerxes asked the Persians in attendance, who this Pythius was, and what riches he possessed, since he made such an offer? They replied, "This, O king, is the person who presented your father Darius with a plane-tree<sup>z</sup> and vine of gold; and, after you, is the richest man we know in the world."

XXVIII. Xerxes, surprised with these last words, asked him to what sum his treasures might amount. "I shall conceal nothing from you," said Pythius, "nor pretend to be ignorant of my own wealth; but being perfectly informed of the state of my accounts, shall tell you the truth with sincerity. When I heard you were marching down towards the Grecian sea, I resolved to present you with a sum of money towards the charge of the war; and to that end having taken an account of my riches, I found by computation that I had two thousand talents of silver, and four millions of Daric staters<sup>a</sup>, all but seven thousand. These treasures I freely give you, because I shall be sufficiently furnished with whatever is necessary to life from my slaves and lands."

XXIX. Xerxes heard these words with pleasure, and in answer to Pythius, said, "My Lydian host, since I parted from Susa, I have not found a man besides yourself, who has offered to entertain my army, or who has come into my presence and voluntarily offered to contribute his treasures to promote the present expedition. You alone have treated my army magnificently, and readily offered me immense riches: therefore, in return of your kindness, I make you my host; and that you may be master of the entire sum of

<sup>x</sup> The story of Marsyas is well known; see Ovid. *Metamorph.* vi. 382. The punishment of Marsyas, according to Fortunio Liceti, is only an allegory. Before the invention of the lyre, says he, (*Hieroglyph.* 119.) the flute was the first of all musical instruments. After the introduction of the lyre, the flute came into disrepute, and nothing was earned by playing on it. In ancient times they used money made of leather, the poets therefore said, that Apollo, who played on the lyre, had slayed Marsyas, who played on the flute. *Larcher.*

<sup>y</sup> There is a different story in Plutarch *de Virtut. Mulier.* pag. 262, &c.

<sup>z</sup> This was not large enough, according to Antiochus, to give shade to a grasshopper. *Xenoph. Hellen.* vii. 1. §. 26. The vine was taken from the citadel of Susa by Antigonus, 316 B. C. *Diodor. Sic.* xix. 48. *Larcher.*

<sup>a</sup> The stater Daricus was worth 50 Attic drachmæ, or £1. 12s. 3½d. of our money according to Arbuthnot. Consequently an Attic talent would be equivalent to 120 Daric staters. According to this computation the 7000 presented by Darius would be equivalent to £11,302. 1s. 8d. and then the whole four millions would amount to £6,356,614. 11s. 8d.

“four millions in gold, I will give you seven thousand Daric pieces out of my own treasure. Keep then all the riches you now possess, and be careful always to continue such as you are, and if you do this, you shall never repent, either now or in future.”

XXX. When Xerxes had said this, and performed his promise, he continued his march; and passing by Anaua a city of Phrygia, and a lake from which salt is obtained, he arrived at Colossæ<sup>b</sup>, a considerable city of the same province; where the river Lycus falling into an aperture of the earth, disappears for the space of about five stades in length; and then rising again runs afterwards into the Mæander. From this place the army advanced to the city Cydrara<sup>c</sup>, built on the borders of Phrygia and Lydia; where an inscription engraved on a pillar, which was erected by Croesus, declares the limits of each country.

XXXI. After they had entered the territories of Lydia, they found the way divided into two routes; one on the left hand, leading to Caria, the other on the right, to Sardis. Those who take the last of these ways are necessitated to cross the Mæander, and to pass near the city of Callatebus; in which honey is made by men, with wheat and the tamarisk. Xerxes taking his march by this way, saw a plane-tree, which on account of its beauty he presented with golden ornaments<sup>d</sup>, and having committed the care of it to an immortal guardian<sup>e</sup>, arrived the next day at Sardis, the capital of Lydia.

XXXII. Upon his arrival in that city he sent heralds to Greece, with orders to demand earth and water, and to require all the cities, except Athens and Lacedæmon<sup>f</sup>, to provide every thing necessary for the king's table; not doubting that the terror of his arms would now induce all those to a ready submission, who had formerly refused to comply with the like demand, made on the part of his father Darius. In order therefore to know this for certain, he dispatched the messengers and afterwards prepared to march towards Abydos.

XXXIII. In the mean time those who were ordered had made a bridge over the Hellespont from Asia to Europe. There is in the Hellespontine Chersonesus, opposite the city

<sup>b</sup> A town of Phrygia, wealthy and well peopled. Part of its inhabitants embraced Christianity in the time of St. Paul, and we have an epistle addressed by him to them from Rome.

<sup>c</sup> This seems to be the same as the Κούρα of Strabo, xii. p. 578. and xiv. p. 663. Schweigh.

<sup>d</sup> Κόσμος signifies ornaments proper for women; and Ælian (Var. Hist. ii. 14.)

paraphrases it by *necklace and bracelets*.

<sup>e</sup> Herodotus appears here to mean one whose successor was appointed while he was alive, so that the office might never be vacant, and therefore the guardian would never die. Schweigh.

Larcher and Wesseling, suppose that he was one of the immortal band described in ch. 83.

<sup>f</sup> See the reason in ch. 133.



of Abydos, and between Sestos and Madytus, a craggy shore extending into the sea. In that place, some time after this enterprize, Xanthippus the son of Aripbron, an Athenian commander, took Artayctes, the Persian governor of Sestos, and impaled him alive, for taking the women into the temple of Protesilaus in Eleus, and there committing unlawful crimes<sup>g</sup>.

XXXIV. The bridge was begun at Abydos<sup>h</sup>, by men appointed to that end, and carried on to this coast on the opposite side, which is seven stades<sup>i</sup> distant from that city; the Phœnicians making use of cordage of white hemp in one bridge, and the Ægyptians of another sort, made of the byblus, in the other. But no sooner had they finished the bridge, than a violent storm arising, broke in pieces and dispersed the whole work.

XXXV. Which when Xerxes heard, he became so indignant, that he commanded three hundred stripes<sup>k</sup> to be inflicted on the waters, and a pair of fetters to be let down into the Hellespont. I have heard he likewise ordered the proper people to brand it with marks of infamy. But it is certain, that he ordered them, as they inflicted the lashes, to pronounce these barbarous and wicked words: "O thou salt and bitter water! thy master has condemned thee to this punishment, because thou hast injured him, when thou hadst not suffered any harm. And king Xerxes will cross over thee, whether thou wishest or not; it is with good reason that no man sacrifices to thee, because thou art both a deceitful and salt river<sup>l</sup>." Thus having commanded the Hellespont to be chastised, he ordered the heads of those who had the direction of the workmen to be taken off.

XXXVI. Those, to whom this unpleasant office belonged, executed these orders; and other architects constructed other bridges in the following manner. They connected together<sup>m</sup>

<sup>g</sup> This is related more circumstantially in book ix. ch. 115.

<sup>h</sup> It seems to be allowed that the site of Sestos is marked by the ruins of *Zemenic*. Abydos is also marked by other ruins, not far from the point of *Nagara*. Again, *Maita*, situated on the European side, at a few miles from *Zemenic*, towards the entrance of the Dardanelles, and beyond Abydos, appears to be the Madytus of Herodotus. *Rennell*, p. 119.

<sup>i</sup> The ancients agree, almost universally, in representing the breadth of this strait to be seven stadia at the narrowest part. Of the modern authorities *Tournefort* appears to allow it the breadth of a mile. *Pococke* only gives it, on the authority of the ancients, at seven stadia, which however implies that he admitted

it. *Gibbon* allows no more than 500 paces. *Rennell*, p. 121.

<sup>k</sup> See *Juvenal*, *Satir.* x. ver. 179.

<sup>l</sup> It may appear strange that Herodotus calls the Hellespont a river. An excellent reason is given by *Wood*, in his description of the *Troade*, pag. 320, 321. *Chandler* (*Travels in Asia Minor*, ch. iii. p. 10, 11.) is of the same opinion. *Larcher*.

<sup>m</sup> Since the Hellespont, in the neighbourhood of Abydos, has a very considerable bend in its course, first running northward from Abydos towards Sestos, and then taking a pretty sharp turn to the eastward; may it not have been, that the two lines of ships were disposed on different sides of the angle just mentioned, by which it might be truly said, that

vessels of fifty oars and triremes, to the number of three hundred and sixty, in the bridge towards the Euxine, and in the other, three hundred and fourteen; with regard to the Euxine, they were placed transversely; with regard to the Hellespont, in the direction of the current, that it might keep the ropes regularly stretched. When they had fastened these together, they let down very long anchors, in the bridge towards the Euxine, because of those winds that blew from it; in the other, which was towards the west and the Ægean, because of the south and south-east winds. They left three openings<sup>a</sup> between the ships, in order that he who wished might be able to sail into or out of the Euxine. When they had done this, they extended ropes from the shore, stretching them with wooden machines; not as before using the two kinds separately, but assigning two of white flax to four of byblus. The thickness and quality was the same, but those of flax were stronger in proportion, every cubit weighing a full talent. Having carried on these lines of ships from one shore to the other, they sawed out pieces of wood according to the width of the bridge, and placed them upon the extended ropes: when they had laid them in regular order, they fastened them together. After this they put faggots in regular order, and then brought earth upon them: when the earth had been well trodden down, they made a fence on each side, that the horses and other cattle might not be terrified by looking over at the sea.

XXXVII. When the bridges were finished, and the canal at mount Athos secured by a bank of earth thrown up at each end, to prevent the tides from choking the passage with sand; and when tidings were brought that the canal was entirely completed, the army being fully prepared set out, at the beginning of the spring, from Sardis, where it had wintered, towards Abydos. When it was on the point of setting out, the sun quitting his seat in the heavens, disappeared<sup>o</sup>; and though

the ships in one line presented their *heads* to the Euxine, the other their *sides*, although the heads of both were presented to the current. The different numbers in the two lines certainly indicate *different breadths* of the strait, and which can only be accounted for by their being at some distance from each other; for it cannot be supposed that the line was placed obliquely across the strait.

The cables extended from each shore appear to have been for the sole purpose of supporting the *bridge-ways*. The ships were kept in their places, by anchors a-head and a-stern; by the lateral pressure of each other, and by side fastenings.

Rennell, p. 125.

For an exact account of the other particulars of the bridge, the reader is referred to the latter part of sect. 7. of Rennell's learned work. His opinion is opposed by Larcher.

<sup>a</sup> Ὑπόφανασις signifies an opening which gives free passage to the light. Larcher.

<sup>o</sup> There was no eclipse at Sardis this year, but a very considerable one the year preceding, on the 19th of April, 481. B. C. as I have been informed by the late M. Pingré, of the Academy of Sciences. It consequently happened about the time of the departure of Xerxes from Susa. Herodotus, who had heard that



the air was perfectly serene, and free from clouds, a sudden night ensued in the place of day; this excited the anxiety of Xerxes when he saw it, and he inquired of the Magi what the prodigy might portend. They answered, that the God by this presage plainly foretold the destruction of the Grecian cities; because the sun announced what would happen to the Greeks, and the moon to the Persians. Xerxes, pleased with their interpretation, began his march.

XXXVIII. As he was leading his army away, Pythius the Lydian, partly terrified by the late prodigy of the heavens, and partly confiding in the merit of his liberal offer, went to the king, and spoke to him in these terms: "Sir, will you condescend to grant me a thing I desire? It is easy for you to grant, and of great importance to me." Xerxes, suspecting nothing less than what he designed to ask, assured him he would grant his request, and bid him ask freely. Upon which Pythius taking confidence, "Sir," said he, "I have five sons; and it happens that they are all attending you in this expedition against Greece. But do you, O king, pity me thus advanced in years, and exempt my eldest son from the present service, that he may take care of me, and of my estate. Take the rest with you, and when you have accomplished your designs you may return home in safety<sup>P</sup>."

XXXIX. The king, transported with indignation at these words, answered, "Base man! how darest thou mention thy son, when thou seest me marching in person against Greece, and taking with me my children, my brothers, and my relations and friends! thou, I say, who art my slave, and bound in duty to follow me with all thy family, and even with thy wife. Remember then, that the spirit of a man resides in his ears; which when it hears pleasing things, fills the whole body with delight, but when the contrary, it swells with indignation. When you did well, and promised to continue the same, you will not boast of having surpassed the king in liberality. But now, when you have adopted a more shameless conduct, you shall not suffer that punishment which you deserve, but a less severe one. Your hospitality pre-serves four of your children, but you shall be punished with

this eclipse took place at the departure of Xerxes, imagined that that departure was from Sardis, which was a year later than that from Susa. Although Pythius was alarmed by it, it does not follow that it happened just at the moment of marching from Sardis; but it appears very probable, that it was this fear which induced him, contrary to his natural avarice, to make such rich presents to Xerxes, in

order to conciliate his good-will, and make him favourable to his request. *Larcher.*

<sup>P</sup> This is an imitation of *Iliad*. i. ver. 18, 19.

Ἵμῖν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν, Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες,  
Ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, εὖ δ' οἶκα δ' ἰκίσθαι.

“the loss of the one, whom you most regard.” Having finished these words, Xerxes commanded the proper officers to find out the eldest son of Pythius, and to cut his body into two parts<sup>1</sup>; one of which they were ordered to lay on the right hand, and the other on the left of the way, that the army might pass between both.

XL. When they had done this the army passed between the two parts. The suttlers and beasts of burden went first; and were followed by men of all nations, formed into a body without distinction<sup>r</sup>, and amounting to more than one half of the army. Behind these an interval was left, that they might not mix with that part where the king was. Before him marched a thousand horsemen, chosen from among all the Persians; and next to them a thousand more of the same nation, men equally well chosen, and bearing javelins pointing downwards. After these came ten sacred horses called Nisæan, with most superb trappings. They are called Nisæan, from a large plain of that name in Media, which produces these large horses. The sacred chariot of Jupiter immediately followed, drawn by eight white horses, the driver on foot holding the reins, because no mortal is permitted to mount the seat. Then Xerxes himself appeared on a chariot drawn by Nisæan horses, and driven by Patiramphe the son of Otanes, a Persian.

XLI. He departed from Sardis in this equipage, and whenever he choose, used to change from his chariot to an Harmaxa<sup>s</sup>. A thousand spearmen of the bravest and most noble among the Persians marched next to the king, carrying their spears in the usual manner; and were followed by another body of horse consisting of a thousand more, all chosen men of the same nation. After the horse, ten thousand Persian foot advanced; and of these, one thousand, armed with javelins, which had at the lower end pomegranates of gold instead of the point by which they stuck the javelin into the ground, and inclosed the other nine thousand, whose javelins had a pomegranate of silver. All those who marched nearest to the person of the king, and turned the points of their arms towards the ground, had pomegranates of gold in like manner on their ja-

<sup>1</sup> See Seneca de Irâ, iii. 17.

<sup>r</sup> Herodotus does not mean to say that these troops observed no order, but that the soldiers of which they were composed were not divided according to nations. It was nearly the same as our regiments, in each of which we find soldiers of every one of our provinces. Our historian makes this remark, because in the Grecian armies, each small people formed a

separate body, and each of those bodies was subdivided into others still smaller, according to the number of tribes of which it was composed. *Larcher*.

<sup>s</sup> The difference between these two kinds of carriage is clearly marked by Xenophon, (*Cyropæd.* i. and *Anab.* i.) The Harmaxa was more easy and more appropriated to females. *Wes-seling*.



velins. The ten thousand foot were followed by ten thousand Persian horse; and after an interval of two stades, all the rest of the forces came on promiscuously.

XLII. Thus the army marching from Lydia, arrived at the river Caicus and the territory of Mysia; and leaving the mountain Cana on the left, passed through Atarneus to the city Carina. From thence they marched through the plain of Thebes: and passing by the cities of Adramyttium and the Pelasgian Antrandus, entered the country of Ilium, having mount Ida on the left hand. But as they passed the night at the foot of that mountain, many of their men were destroyed by thunder and lightning.

XLIII. When they arrived on the banks of the Scamander, which was the first river, from the time they set out from Sardis, whose waters failed<sup>†</sup> and were not sufficient for the army and beasts of burden; when Xerxes had arrived at this said river he went up into the citadel of Priam<sup>‡</sup>, being desirous of seeing it; and when he had satisfied his curiosity, and inquired into divers particulars, he sacrificed a thousand oxen to the Ilian Minerva<sup>§</sup>, and the Magi poured out a libation in honour of the heroes. After they had performed this, a panic spread itself in the camp during the night. At the dawn of day they marched from thence, leaving on their right the cities of Rhoetium, Ophrynum, and Dardanus, which borders on Abydos, and on their left the Gergithæ-Teuciri<sup>¶</sup>.

XLIV. When they arrived at Abydos, Xerxes desired to behold all his army. The Abydeni had previously constructed on a hill for that purpose, in obedience to his former commands, a lofty throne of white marble. When he had taken his seat here, he looked down on the shore and beheld both his fleet and his land army. After he had enjoyed the sight, he desired to see a naval battle. When this had accordingly taken place, and the Sidonian Phoenicians were victorious, he shewed himself exceedingly pleased with the contest and his forces.

XLV. When he saw the Hellespont covered with his ships, and all the shore and plain of Abydos full of men, he pronounced himself happy; but afterwards wept<sup>‡</sup>.

<sup>†</sup> *Ἐπίλιπε τὸ ῥέεθρον*. sc. κατὰ τὸ ῥέεθρον, as in ii. 19. 10. Schweigh.

<sup>‡</sup> Pergamus was the name of the citadel of Troy; Herodotus added of Priam, to distinguish it from the town of Pergamus in Mysias, which afterwards became the capital of a kingdom, and also from Pergamus, a town of Pieria. Larcher.

<sup>§</sup> She had a temple in the citadel, as we see in Homer, (*Iliad*. vi. 88.) Alexander the Great also, when he arrived at

Troy, offered sacrifices to the Pallas of Ilium. See Arrian i. 11. and Diodorus Sic. xvii. 18. Wesseling.

<sup>¶</sup> The Gergithæ were a remnant of the ancient Teuciri, as we are informed by Herodotus, v. 122.

<sup>‡</sup> The reflections which Xerxes made on the sad lot of so many thousand men, reduced him to the feelings of humanity, but ambition soon obtained the upper hand and stifled these useful thoughts. I

XLVI. Artabanus, his paternal uncle, who had before freely declared his opinion and advised him not to invade Greece, having observed his tears, addressed him thus: "How very different, O king, is your present conduct, from what it was a little while ago; you but lately pronounced yourself happy, now you weep." The king answered, "When I considered the shortness of human life, I could not restrain the effects of my compassion; for of all these numbers of men, not one shall survive at the hundredth year." "But," replied Artabanus, "we suffer during our lives other things, much more to be lamented. There is not one, either of these men or of others, so happy, that it will not arise in his mind, I do not say once, but frequently, to wish rather to die than to live. The frequent calamities and diseases incident to all so disturb the best of our days, that life, though really short, yet seems of a tedious length; so that death, when life has become painful, is the most desirable refuge for man: and the deity, in giving us a taste of pleasures<sup>a</sup>, has made his jealousy appear."

XLVII. "Artabanus," said the king, "since the condition of human life is such as you have described, let us say no more on that subject; but rejecting all sad reflections, entertain ourselves with the promising hopes we have now in view. Be plain with me; if you had not seen the vision you saw so evidently in your dream, would you still persist in your first opinion, and continue to dissuade me from making war against Greece? Tell me the truth with freedom and sincerity." To this question Artabanus answered, "May the event of my dream be such as we both desire: but I am still full of apprehensions and not master of myself, when I reflect on many other things, and particularly when I perceive two things of the greatest importance, most hostile to you."

XLVIII. "My good sir," replied Xerxes, "and what may those two things be, that are so hostile to my designs? Do you find any fault with our land army on the score of numbers, and do you think that the Grecian army will be

very much doubt whether Valerius Maximus has perceived the true motive of these tears, and I think that there is some slight malice in what he says; "Qui mihi specie alienam, revera suam conditionem deplorassee videtur; opum magnitudine, quam altiore animi sensu felicior." (ix. 13. Extern. i.) I prefer what Pliny says, (Plin. Jun. Epist. xiii. 7.) "Tam angustis terminis tantæ multitudinis vivacitas ipsa concluditur,

"ut mihi non veniã solum dignæ, verum etiam laude, videantur illæ Regiæ lacrimæ. Nam ferunt Xerxem, cum immensum exercitum oculis obiisset, illacrymasse, quod tot millibus, tam brevis immineret occasus." Wesseling is of a different opinion. *Larcher.*

<sup>a</sup> 'Ο γεύσας signifies one who has given to taste, particularly to taste any thing for sale; ὁ γευσαµένος, one who had tasted.



“ much more numerous than ours? Or does our navy appear to be inferior to theirs? Or, in a word, are our enemies superior in both? For if our forces appear in that respect too weak, we can quickly assemble another army.”

XLIX. “ O king,” answered Artabanus, “ no man of common understanding can reproach either your land forces, or the number of your ships.

“ And if these should be augmented, the two things I intended would become more contrary to your affairs, than they are at present. By these two things I mean the sea and the land. For, as I conjecture, no harbour can be found in any part sufficient to receive and ensure the safety of your whole fleet, if a storm should arise. And yet one is not enough: there will be need of similar ones along the whole coast of the continent, to which this expedition will lead you. Since therefore you have no commodious harbours, you will do well to remember, that men are in the power of fortune<sup>b</sup>, and not fortune in the power of men.

“ Having thus explained one of the two things I proposed, I shall proceed to the other. The land will be your enemy in this way: if nothing happens to oppose you, it becomes the more formidable the farther you advance, since you will be always hurried on without perceiving it: for men are never satisfied with success. This therefore being granted, that you meet with no opposition, I maintain that the country which you will have marched over, becoming more extensive in process of time, will produce a famine. A man would therefore thus prove himself most wise, if in deliberation he should be fearful<sup>c</sup> and consider himself likely to suffer every misfortune, but in action should be bold.”

L. To this Xerxes answered, “ Artabanus, your discourse concerning these particulars is rational; yet do not fear all things, nor examine every circumstance with the same strictness.

“ For if you should deliberate with the same circumspection on every thing that presents itself, you would never do any thing. It is better to undertake every thing with boldness and suffer half the evils, than to fear every thing before hand and never suffer any thing. If you oppose every

<sup>b</sup> “ Neque regerentur magis, quam reagent casus.” Sallust, Bell. Jugurth. 1.

Beloe quotes the following from Ecclesiastes ix. 11. “ I returned, and saw under the sun, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor

“ yet favour to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all.”

<sup>c</sup> “ Prius-quam incipias, consulto; et ubi consulueris, mature facto opus est.” Sallust, Catilin. 1. Compare also Thucyd. ii. 11. and vi. 34. extr. Many other instances might be quoted from Demosthenes and Polybius.

" thing that is said without proposing something certain, you  
 " must fail as much as the person who has given the con-  
 " trary opinion. This then comes to the same.

" I am of opinion that no mortal can determine with cer-  
 " tainty concerning the event of human affairs. Experience  
 " shews, that those who resolve to push boldly, are for the  
 " most part successful ; whereas those, who act with so much  
 " caution, and form so many difficulties, very rarely do any  
 " thing with advantage. Do you see to what a degree of  
 " power the Persians have attained ? If then the kings my  
 " predecessors had entertained such thoughts as you have,  
 " or had met with such counsellors, though they did not en-  
 " tertain such opinions themselves, you would never have  
 " seen their power advanced to this pitch. By hazarding  
 " dangers, they carried it to this height of grandeur. For  
 " great successes are generally accomplished by great perils.  
 " We will therefore endeavour to imitate our ancestors ; and,  
 " entering upon action in the most agreeable season of the  
 " year, we intend to subdue all Europe, and afterwards  
 " to return home, without suffering by famine, or any other  
 " misfortune. For we not only carry a vast quantity of pro-  
 " visions with us, but shall be masters of all the corn that  
 " grows in the countries we are about to invade, which are  
 " inhabited by husbandmen, and not by feeders of cattle."

LI. Artabanus having heard this answer of Xerxes, said,  
 " Sir, since you will not permit me to fear the success of your  
 " enterprize, yet hearken to my counsel in another thing ; and  
 " excuse me, if having many things to say, I am necessitated  
 " to extend my discourse to a farther length. Cyrus the son  
 " of Cambyses constrained all the Ionians, the Athenians only  
 " excepted, to be tributary to the Persians. I advise you  
 " therefore not to lead these men against their fathers, upon  
 " any motive whatever : especially since we have forces more  
 " than sufficient to subdue our enemies, without their assist-  
 " ance. For if they accompany you in this expedition, one  
 " of these two things must happen. They must either be  
 " most unjust, if they enslave their mother-city ; or most just  
 " if they contribute all their endeavours to preserve its  
 " liberty. If they should be most unjust, they will not at-  
 " tach to many great advantage ; but if just they become able  
 " to bring great mischief upon your army. Consider there-  
 " fore on the justice of this ancient saying, that at the com-  
 " mencement of a thing, the end is not always evident<sup>d</sup>."

<sup>d</sup> Beloe quotes Horace, lib. iii. Od. -  
 xxix. 29.

" Caliginosa nocte premit Deus  
 " Ridetque, si mortalis ultra  
 " Fas trepidat," &c.



LII. "Artabanus," replied Xerxes, "of all the opinions you have given you are deceived most particularly in this, viz. in fearing lest the Ionians should revolt. You, and all those who invaded Scythia under my father Darius, must own, that they gave the most certain proof of their affection<sup>e</sup> to us, when having in their power to save or destroy the whole army of the Persians, they refused to violate their faith, or do any thing that might be prejudicial to our nation. Besides, they have left their children, their wives, and their possessions, in our territories; and therefore we must not expect that they will attempt any innovation. Fear nothing therefore of that sort; but with good spirits take upon you the care of my family, and of my government. For to you alone, out of all, I entrust my sceptre."

LIII. After this discourse, Xerxes dismissed Artabanus, with orders to return to Susa; and having again assembled the principal men among the Persians, he spoke to this purpose: "I have called you together at this time, to exhort you to acquit yourselves like men of courage, without blemishing the great and glorious actions of your ancestors. Let every one therefore in particular, and all of us in conjunction, shew our alacrity and resolution in this enterprize, which is undertaken for the common good. But on this account I call on you to apply yourselves earnestly to the war, for as I am informed, we are marching against a brave and warlike people; and that if we conquer them, no other army will dare to oppose us. Prepare then to pass the sea, after we have recommended ourselves to the care of those Gods who have obtained by lot the protection<sup>f</sup> of Persia."

LIV. The rest of the day was spent in disposing all things in order to their passage: and on the next day they waited for the sun, as they wished to see it rising, and in the mean time burnt all sorts of perfumes upon the bridges, and strewed the way with myrtle branches<sup>g</sup>. When the sun was risen, Xerxes, pouring a libation into the sea out of a golden cup, addressed a prayer to the sun, that he might not meet with any impediment so great, as to prevent him from subduing Europe, until he had arrived at the utmost limits of it. After which he threw the cup into the Hellespont, with a bowl of

<sup>e</sup> It is very surprising, says Larcher, that Xerxes did not remember their revolt under Darius.

<sup>f</sup> This profession of the king bears very great resemblance to the strange opinions of some ancient Theologists, viz. that the angels, at the order of God, decided by lot what countries they should protect

and preside over. *Wesseling.*

<sup>g</sup> The myrtle was with the ancients a very favourite plant, and always expressive of triumph and joy; the hero wore it as a mark of victory; the bridegroom on his bridal day; and friends presented each other with myrtle garlands in the conviviality of the banquet. *Beloe.*

gold, and a Persian scymeter. But I cannot determine, whether he wished by throwing them into the sea to consecrate these things to the sun, or whether he repented of having scourged the Hellespont, and as a compensation made that present to it.

LV. After this ceremony all the foot and horse of the army passed over that bridge, which was next to the Euxine; while the servants, and beasts of burden, passed over the other, which was nearer to the Ægean sea. The ten thousand Persians I mentioned before led the van, with crowns on their heads, and were followed by troops promiscuously composed of all nations. These passed the first day. On the second, the cavalry, and next those who carried their javelins pointing to the ground, passed over, wearing crowns likewise. Then came the sacred horses and the sacred chariot; afterwards Xerxes himself, followed by the spearmen, and one thousand horse. All the rest of the army closed the march; and at the same time the ships went over to the opposite shore. I have also heard that Xerxes crossed over last of all.

LVI. When Xerxes had crossed over into Europe, he saw his forces compelled by blows to pass over the bridge; which yet was not effected in less than seven days and seven nights, though they continued to pass without intermission during all that time. After his landing, a certain man of that country, as is said, cried out, "O Jupiter<sup>h</sup>, why art thou come to overthrow Greece in the shape of a Persian, and under the name of Xerxes, with all mankind following thee? whereas thy own power is sufficient to do this without their assistance."

LVII. When they had all crossed and had set out on their march, a great prodigy appeared, which Xerxes took no account of, although easy to be interpreted. A mare cast a hare instead of a colt; from which one might easily conjecture, that after Xerxes had transported a mighty army into Greece with great vanity and ostentation, he should be afraid for his own life, and run away to the place from whence he came. Another prodigy had been seen before, during the time he stayed at Sardis; where a mule brought forth a colt, with the parts both of a male and a female, the former being above.

LVIII. But Xerxes slighting both these events, continued to advance with his landforces; while the fleet at the same

<sup>h</sup> Gorgias of Leontium calls Xerxes the Jupiter of the Persians; Longinus with reason derides this, (De Sublim. iii.) *Larcher.*



time sailing out of the Hellespont, coasted along by the shore, and kept on an opposite course<sup>i</sup>. For they stood to the westward for the promontory of Sarpedon<sup>k</sup>; where they were commanded to attend farther orders; but the land forces marched through the Chersonese, towards the east, and the rising sun, having the sepulchre of Helle the daughter of Athamas on the right hand, and the city of Cardia<sup>l</sup> on the left, they passed through a place called Agora<sup>m</sup>; and from thence, bending their march round a bay called Melas, they crossed the river Melas<sup>n</sup>; whose waters did not suffice for the army, but failed. After they had passed this river, from which the bay derives its name, they marched eastward, and passing by Ænos<sup>o</sup>, an Æolian city, and the lake Stentoris, they arrived at Doriscus.

LIX. Doriscus is a shore and large plain of Thrace, through which the large river Hebrus flows. In that plain a royal fort is built, the same that is now called Doriscus, in which a Persian garrison had been established by Darius, from the time that he marched against the Scythians. Xerxes judging this place convenient for reviewing and numbering his forces, commanded the captains to bring all their ships to the shore near Doriscus; in which Sala<sup>p</sup>, a Samothracian town, and Zona, are situate; the extremity of it is Serrhium, a famous promontory, formerly belonging to the Ciconians<sup>q</sup>. When they had brought the ships to land, they drew them

<sup>i</sup> It would be necessary for the fleet, in order to go from the Hellespont, to turn its back upon the army, which would march upwards towards the beginning of the Isthmus and the town of Cardia. *Larcher*.

<sup>k</sup> I am not aware that any other author besides Herodotus speaks of this promontory. I suppose that it was on the northern coast of the Chersonese and at the southern entrance of the gulf Melas. *Larcher*.

<sup>l</sup> This town was situated on the western side of the Isthmus, which connected the Chersonese with the continent. It received its name, according to Pliny, (iv. 11.) from its resemblance to the figure of a heart; or because, when Hermodrates, the founder, was sacrificing, a crow carried off the heart of the victim and dropped it in the place where the town was afterwards built, (Steph. Byzant.) Lysimachus, one of the successors of Alexander, destroyed it, and from that time it has been no more than a village, (Pausan. i. 9.) *Larcher*.

<sup>m</sup> This must have been between Car-

dia and Pactye, which is also evident from Demosthenes, (De Halones.) *Larcher*.

<sup>n</sup> The river is at present called Larissa; the gulf, Megarision and Magarision. See Melet. Geograph. Antiq. et Nova. pag. 419.

<sup>o</sup> The Greeks distinguished between Ænos and Æneia, or Ænea. The Latins on the contrary have confused them. This town is now called Eno, and the little bay on which it is built, and which forms part of the gulf of Melas, is called the bay of Eno. *Larcher*.

<sup>p</sup> Herodotus calls this a Samothracian town, because it was in a district of the continent inhabited by the Samothracians.

<sup>q</sup> The Ciconians formerly occupied the coast of Thrace, which is opposite Samothrace, but were afterwards driven northwards by the Samothracians. Virgil, in his 4th Georgic, ver. 520 and 524. beautifully describes the Ciconian women as throwing the head of Orpheus into the Hebrus. *Larcher*.

up<sup>r</sup> and careened them; and in the mean time Xerxes numbered his army in the plain of Doriscus.

LX. What proportion of men each nation furnished to this expedition, I cannot affirm exactly, because it is not mentioned by any one; but the whole number of land forces amounted to seventeen hundred thousand<sup>s</sup>, for they were computed in this manner: ten thousand men being first drawn out into one place and crowded as close together as might possibly be, were encompassed with a circle traced upon the ground: after which they were dismissed, and a wall was built on this circle, to the height of a man's middle. When this was done, they caused another ten thousand to enter the place inclosed by the wall, and continued to proceed in the same manner, till they had computed the whole army. Then they divided all the troops into distinct bodies according to their nations.

LXI. The following nations marched in the expedition. First, the Persians<sup>t</sup>, who were equipped as follows: on their heads they wore loose coverings<sup>u</sup>, called tiaras; on the body they wore tunics of different colours, with sleeves, and breast-plates, with iron scales like those of fish, and on their legs they had loose trowsers; instead of shields, they used bucklers, called gerrha, under which their quivers hung<sup>x</sup>. Their javelins were short; their bows long; their arrows were made of cane,

<sup>r</sup> The ancients used to draw on shore their vessels, which were small in comparison with ours, whenever they wished to stay any time at a place. This custom, which was observed during the Trojan war, as we see in Homer, still obtained in the more flourishing condition of Greece. Frequent mention is made of it in Xenophon's Hellenics and Thucydides. Larcher.

<sup>s</sup> The evident cause of the assemblage of so many nations was, that the Europeans (as at the present day) were deemed so far superior to Asiatics, as to require a vastly greater number of the latter to oppose them. This is no less apparent in the history of the wars of Alexander, and of the wars of Europeans in the east, in modern times. However, we do not by any means believe in the numbers described by the Greek historians, because we cannot comprehend, from what is seen and known, how such a multitude could be provided with food, and their beasts with forage. But that the army of Xerxes was great, beyond all example, may be readily believed; because it was collected from a vastly extended empire, every part of which, as well as its allies, furnished a proportion; and if the aggregate had

amounted to a moderate number only, it would have been nugatory to levy that number throughout the whole empire, and to collect troops from India and Ethiopia, to attack Greece, when the whole number required might have been collected in Lower Asia. Rennell, p. 318.

<sup>t</sup> The Persians may, perhaps, not inaptly be compared, in respect of the rest, with the Europeans in a British army in India, composed chiefly of Sepoys, or native troops. Rennel, p. 292.

<sup>u</sup> Valla had translated ἀπαγίας impenetrable, and Portus has taken the word in the same sense. Wesseling, however, has rendered it *non compactos*, which interpretation is confirmed by the Scholiast on Aristoph. Av. ver. 487. who informs us that the king of Persia alone wore his tiara erect, the others wore it folded and projecting over the forehead. On the whole of this dress see a comment of Mongez, in the 4th vol. of the Acta Institut. Lit. et Artium. &c. Schweigh.

<sup>x</sup> On their march, of which we are here speaking, their bucklers were hung over their backs, and therefore the quivers would be under them. Schweigh. So also Larcher.



and their swords were suspended from the belt by the right thigh. They were commanded by Otanes the father of Amestris, the wife of Xerxes. In ancient times the Persians were by the Grecians called Cephenes, and by themselves and nearest neighbours, Artæans: but Perseus<sup>y</sup> the son of Jupiter and Danae, coming to Cepheus the son of Belus, married his daughter Andromeda; and by her had a son, whom he named Perses, and afterwards left with Cepheus, because he had no male child; and from him they took the name of Persians.

LXII. The Medes marched in the same dress as the Persians; for the equipment I have described, belongs properly to the Medes, and not to the Persians. They marched under the conduct of Tigranes, who was of the family of the Achæmenidæ. The Medes were anciently called Arians by all nations; but changed their name, as they say themselves, when Medea of Colchis arrived from Athens in their country. The Cissians, appearing in every thing like the Persians, except only that they wore mitres on their heads, were led by Anaphes the son of Otanes. The Hyrcanians were also armed after the Persian manner, and commanded by Megapanus, who was afterwards governor of Babylon.

LXIII. The Assyrians had helmets of brass to cover their heads, woven in a strange fashion, not easy to be described: they had bucklers, javelins, and poignards after the manner of the Egyptians; with linen cuirasses<sup>z</sup>, and wooden clubs knotted with iron. By the Greeks they are called Syrians<sup>a</sup>, and by the Barbarians, Assyrians. Among these the Chaldeans were accounted, and Otaspes the son of Artachæus was their leader.

LXIV. The Bactrians had turbans on their heads, very much like those of the Medes; and carried bows made of cane peculiar to their country, and short spears. The Sacæ, who are Scythians, wore on their heads caps, which ended in a point and stood erect: they also wore trowsers, and carried a sort of bow peculiar to their nation, with poignards, and also axes, called Sagaris<sup>b</sup>. Although they are Amyrgian Scythians, the Persians call them Sacæ; which is the common name they give to all the Scythians. The Bactrians and Sacæ were led by Hystaspes, son of Darius, by Atossa the daughter of Cyrus.

<sup>y</sup> See ch. 150. and also vi. 53.

<sup>z</sup> Perhaps *vests* quilted with *cotton*, or some such substance, to resist the ordinary cut of a sabre—war jackets. These are worn at present by the soldiery, in the service of the petty princes of India. Rennell, p. 266.

<sup>a</sup> See note on ch. vi. book I.

<sup>b</sup> The Sagaris (Hesych. in voc.) was a kind of axe used by the Amazons, which had only one edge. The word *Sakr* signifies a hatchet in the Armenian language. See Whiston, preface to Moses Chorenensis, pag. 6. Larcher. See also Rennell, p. 302.

LXV. The Indians, who wore garments made of cotton<sup>c</sup>, and had bows and arrows of cane<sup>d</sup> pointed with iron, were commanded by Pharnazathres the son of Artabates.

LXVI. The Arians were furnished with Median bows; and in all other things resembled the Bactrians. They were commanded by Sisamnes the son of Hydarnes. The Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, Gandarians<sup>e</sup>, and Dadicæ, appeared in the same arms and clothing as the Bactrians, under the following leaders; Artabazus the son of Pharnaces commanded the Parthians and the Chorasmians; Azanes the son of Artæus the Sogdians; and Artyphius the son of Artabanus the Gandarians and Dadicæ.

LXVII. The Caspians<sup>f</sup>, clothed in mantles called Sisyrnæ<sup>g</sup>, and armed with scymetars and with bows made of cane after the manner of their country, had for their captain Ariomardus the brother of Artyphius. The Sarangæ<sup>h</sup> were conspicuous<sup>i</sup> from their dyed garments; they also wore buskins reaching up to the knee, and carried a bow and javelins, like those of the Medes. They were led by Pherendates the son of Megabyzus. The Pactyes, clothed likewise in Sisyrnæ, had bows peculiar to the country and poignards, and were commanded by Artyntes the son of Ithramites.

LXVIII. The Utii, Mycii, and Paricanii, armed and clothed like the Pactyes, marched under the following captains. Arsamenes the son of Darius led the Utii and Mycii; and Siromitres the son of Œbazus, the Paricanii.

LXIX. The Arabians<sup>k</sup> wore large robes, called Zeiræ,

<sup>c</sup> The dresses here intended may perhaps have been *quilted*, like those of the Phœnicians and the Assyrians; who are said to have had linen cuirasses. *Rennell*, p. 305.

The Indians at present wear clothes made of cotton, of which their country produces great abundance. *Larcher*.

<sup>d</sup> In this and several other instances, (as amongst the Bactrians, Caspians, &c.) *bamboos* are unquestionably to be understood; as they are at this day in common use. *Rennell*, p. 306.

<sup>e</sup> This people Major Rennell places in Margiana; see note on book iii. 91. *Larcher* places them near the Bactrians, and on each side of the Indus. See his Table *Geographique*.

<sup>f</sup> The Caspians are the only nation of the 11th Satrapy (iii. 92.) which we find in the army of Xerxes. They resembled the Bactrians and Arians, their neighbours; and there was a general resemblance in the *armour* of the Bactrians, Caspians, Parthians, Chorasmians,

Sogdians, Gandarians, and Dadicæ; so that all the nations situated to the east and north of Media had so many points of resemblance to each other, as to shew that they had a common origin, that is, doubtless, from *Scythia*; and this is shewn also from many passages in Strabo and Pliny. *Rennell*, p. 275.

<sup>g</sup> The Σισύρνα or Σισύρνα is the skin of a goat with the hair. See the *Lexicon* on Plato of Timæus, published by Ruhnken. *Larcher*.

<sup>h</sup> The dress of this nation characterizes them as a civilized, rich, and industrious people. In effect, they were the *Euergetæ* of the Greeks. See Diodorus Sic. xvii. 8. *Rennell*, p. 289.

<sup>i</sup> The text has the same force as if it had been εἶμασι βεβαμμένους ἢσαν ἐμπρεπείς or διαπρεπείς. So in ch. 83. Compare also *Æsch. Agam.* v. 1231. and v. 30. and *Theb.* 118. *Schweigh.*

<sup>k</sup> These Arabians were probably *Idumeans* and *Nabutheans*, and not of Arabia Felix, which had never been made



fastened with girdles; and carried on their right shoulder long bows which might be bent both ways. The Ethiopians were clothed with the skins of lions and panthers; and armed with bows full four cubits long, made of the branches of the palm-tree; to put in these, they had short arrows made of cane, and pointed, instead of iron, with a sharp stone, of that sort on which they engrave seals<sup>1</sup>. They had also javelins pointed with buck's horns sharpened like a lance, and knotted clubs. When they are about to engage in battle, they paint one half of their bodies with white plaster, and the other half with vermilion. The Arabians, and these Ethiopians who inhabit above Egypt, were commanded by Arsames the son of Darius, by Artystona the daughter of Cyrus; whom Darius loved more than all his wives, and whose image he had caused to be made of wrought gold.

LXX. The eastern Ethiopians (for two kinds served in the expedition) were stationed with the Indians, and did not at all differ from the others in form, but in their language, and in their hair. For the oriental Ethiopians have long straight hair: but the hair of the Lybian Ethiopians is more curled than that of any other people. The arms and habit of the Asiatic Ethiopians<sup>m</sup> were almost the same with those of the Indians: but instead of a helmet, they wore the skin of a horse's head<sup>n</sup>, stripped off with the ears and mane; and contrived in such a manner, that the mane might serve for a crest, while the ears stood erect. They used the skins of cranes to defend themselves, instead of shields.

LXXI. The Lybians had coats made of leather; carried a pointed lance hardened at one end by the fire<sup>o</sup>, and were under the conduct of Massages the son of Oarizus.

subject to the Persians. *Rennell*, p. 255. and *Larcher*.

<sup>1</sup> This stone is the Smiris of Dioscorides, (v. 166.) It is the same as our emery, a kind of metallic stone. It is used to polish steel, to cut glass and precious stones, &c. but it will not cut diamonds. *Larcher*.

<sup>m</sup> We must regard these as the people of *Makran*, *Haur*, (the *Oritæ* of Alexander and Nearchus,) and other provinces in that quarter. See *Rennell*, p. 303.

<sup>n</sup> The Προμετωπίδιον was a kind of helmet made of the skin of the head of any animal. They were very common, particularly among the Germans. See the figures in Clarke's edition of Cæsar's Comment. (Lond. 1712. fol.) This was in ancient times the armour for the head. Hercules used for this purpose the head of the Nemean lion. See Valerius Flac-

cus, Argonaut, i. 34. and also Virgil, *Æneid* xi. 680.

“ Caput ingens oris hiatus,  
“ Et malæ texere lupi cum dentibus  
“ albis.”

<sup>o</sup> Homer gives the same weapon to Ulysses to put out the eye of Polyphemus: see *Odyssey* ix. 328. Pope translates the passage thus,

“ Whose point we hardened by the force  
“ of fire.” *Larcher*.

The savages of America use the same process for their spears at this day. *Beloe*.

The Lybians were, in point of weapons, the most contemptibly furnished of any throughout the whole army; in which were every kind of offensive weapon, from polished steel, to wood hard-

LXXII. The Paphlagonians wore woven helmets<sup>p</sup>, and carried small shields, and not large spears: they also had darts and poignards. On their feet they wore shoes after the manner of their country, reaching up to the middle of the leg. The Ligyes, the Matieni<sup>q</sup>, and the Mariandyni, with those Syrians who by the Persians are called Cappadocians, marched in the same dress as the Paphlagonians. The Matieni and the Paphlagonians were led by Dotus the son of Megasidrus; and the Mariandyni, with the Ligyes, and Syrians, by Gobryas the son of Darius and Artystona.

LXXIII. The Phrygians were equipped very nearly in the same way as the Paphlagonians; the difference was trifling. This people, if we may believe the Macedonians, went under the name of Briges<sup>r</sup>, as long as they were Europeans, and dwelt with them; but when they went over into Asia, they changed their name with their country, and have ever since been called Phrygians. The Armenians, being a colony of the Phrygians, appeared in the same accoutrements; and both these nations were commanded by Artochmes, who had married a daughter of Darius.

LXXIV. The Lydians were armed more like the Greeks than any other people of the army: they had been formerly known by the name of Mæonians, but were afterwards called Lydians, from Lydus the son of Atys. The Mysians had a sort of helmet peculiar to their country, with a little buckler, and pointed javelins hardened at the end by fire. They are a colony of the Lydians, and are called Olympians, from the mountain Olympus. Both these nations were led by Artaphernes, the son of that Artaphernes who with Datis invaded Marathon.

LXXV. The Thracians<sup>s</sup> marched with their heads covered

ened in the fire; with all the intermediate varieties of *fish-bone*, *horn*, and *stones*; and of defensive armour, from coats of mail of burnished steel formed in scales, like those of fishes, (which the Persians wore,) to the *raw hides* of animals. *Rennell*, p. 255.

<sup>p</sup> This description of the Paphlagonian helmet is sufficiently obscure. Xenophon gives a more clear and detailed account of it when speaking of those of the Mosynæci; "They wear on their heads a helmet of leather, similar to those of the Paphlagonians, from the centre of which proceeds a tuft of twisted hair, which rises into a point like a tiara." (*Exped. Cyri*, v. 4. sect. 6. *Larcher*.)

<sup>q</sup> One might have supposed *Matiene* was an error, especially as there is another country of *Matiene* in *Medea*. But this agrees with *Clio*, 72. No traces of such a name can, however, be found there. It is possible that the province of *Tyana*, may be the *Matiene* here spoken of, as the situation agrees. Or *Tyana*, as a part, may have given name to the whole. It is, in effect, a part of Cilicia; but has sometimes been reckoned to Cappadocia. *Rennell*, p. 239.

<sup>r</sup> In *Erato* 45, the *Brygi* of Thrace, attack Mardonius, in Macedonia. *Rennell*, p. 238.

<sup>s</sup> The Thracians, although transplanted into a warmer climate, preserved their ancient customs. The description of the



with a cap made of the skins of foxes, and around their bodies they wore tunics, and over them loose robes of different colours; on their feet and legs they had buskins made of the skins of fawns; they also carried javelins, small bucklers called *Peltæ*<sup>t</sup>, and small poignards. They have gone under the name of Bithynians ever since they crossed over to Asia; and if we may believe their own report, were formerly called Strymonians, from the river Strymon, where they inhabited, and from whence they were expelled by the Mysians and by the Teucrians. These Asiatic Thracians were commanded by Bassaces the son of Artabanus.

**LXXVI.** The Chalybes<sup>u</sup> carried small bucklers composed of untanned hides, and each had two javelins fit for hunting wolves<sup>x</sup>; and a helmet of brass, having the ears and horns of an ox of the same metal. They also wore a crest at the top of their helmet; and their legs were enveloped in bandages of purple cloth. They have an oracle of Mars in their country.

**LXXVII.** The Cabalian Mæonians<sup>y</sup>, who are also called Lasonians, had the same arms and clothing with the Cilicians; which I shall describe when in the course of my narration I shall arrive at that people. The Milyæ carried short lances, and their garments were fastened by clasps. Some of them had Lycian bows, and a cap composed of skins. All these were commanded by Badres the son of Hystanes.

**LXXVIII.** The Moschi had helmets of wood, with small bucklers, and javelins headed with large points. The Tibarenis, Macrones, and Mosynoeci were armed as the Moschi; who with the Tibareni marched under the conduct of Ariomardus, the son of Darius by Parmys, the daughter of Smerdis the son of Cyrus. But the Macrones and Mosynoeci were

European Thracians by Xenophon (Anab. vii. 4. sect. 2.) perfectly agrees with that by Herodotus of the Asiatic Thracians. *Larcher*.

<sup>t</sup> Those who carried this kind of buckler, which was peculiar to the Thracians, were called *Peltastæ*. The buckler of the heavy armed troops was difficult to manage. Iphicrates (Diodor. Sic. xv. 44. and Corn. Nepos in Iphicrat. i. 3.) substituted the Pelta about the 3rd year of the 101st Olympiad, B.C. 374. The name of Hoplite does not appear among the Grecian troops from that time. *Larcher*.

<sup>u</sup> There is evidently a lacuna in the text. Wesseling has conjectured that the Chalybes are meant on account of

the oracle of Mars, and because they border on the above-mentioned people, as we have seen in i. 28.

<sup>x</sup> Προβόλους δύο λυκιοεργίας. *Larcher* reads Λυκιοεργίας, and translates it, "deux épieux façon de Lycie." See his reasons in his long note. I have followed Schweighæuser.

<sup>y</sup> These appear to be the same as the Cabalians of iii. 90. The inhabitants of Cabalis, a town near Cydrara, to the south of the Mæander were called Cabalees, according to Hecataeus. Herodotus calls them Cabelians, because, according to the Ionic dialect, *alpha* is changed into *eta*. *Larcher* wishes to read Καβηλέες δὲ καὶ οἱ Μήονες. See his note.

led by Artayctes<sup>a</sup>, the son of Cherasmis, and governor of Sés-tos on the Hellespont.

LXXIX. The Mares wore caps, woven after the manner of their country; and carried javelins, with small shields covered with skins. The Colchians had helmets of wood, with small bucklers made of untanned hides; short lances and swords. The forces of these two nations had for their leader Pherendates the son of Teaspes. The Alarodi and the Saspieres, armed like the Colchians, marched under the command of Masistius the son of Siromitres.

LXXX. The people who came from the islands of the Erythræan sea<sup>a</sup>, in which the king makes the persons who are called Anapasti<sup>b</sup> dwell, were clothed and armed in a manner very similar to the Medes, and led by Mardontes the son of Bagæus, who was killed two years after, at the battle of Mycale.

LXXXI. These were the nations that marched on the continent, and composed the infantry; and those who have been mentioned were the leaders, who divided and numbered all the forces, and appointed the commanders of a thousand, and of ten thousand. But those who had the command of ten thousand, nominated the centurions and the decurions. Thus to each band and nation there were other leaders, but those I have mentioned were their commanders in chief.

LXXXII. Over these and the whole infantry the following generals were appointed, Mardonius the son of Gobryas, Tritantæchmes the son of Artabanus, who gave his opinion against the expedition into Greece; Smerdomenes the son of Otanes, (both sons to the brothers of Darius, and cousins to Xerxes,) Masistes the son of Darius by Atossa, Gergis the son of Arizus, and Megabyzus the son of Zopyrus<sup>c</sup>.

LXXXIII. These were the generals of the whole infantry, except the ten thousand; Hydarnes the son of Hydarnes commanded the ten thousand select Persians, who were surnamed *Immortal*, because if any one, from death or sickness make a deficiency in the number, another is presently substituted in his place; so that they never amount to more

<sup>a</sup> See his melancholy end, ix. 118, 119.

<sup>b</sup> These are the inhabitants of the islands of the Persian gulf. These islands, which were very numerous, were subject to the Persians. They were situated off Carmania and Persia. There were too few in the Erythræan, and those few too distant from Persia to have ever been conquered by the kings of Persia. Larcher.

<sup>b</sup> Larcher shews from our author, iv. 204. vi. 119. and v. 98, that no nation was ever transported to these islands, and therefore that ἀνάσπαστος ought not to be referred, in this passage, to a people torn from their country, but to individuals exiled by order of the prince.

<sup>c</sup> This is the famous Zopyrus, through whose means Babylon was taken, iii. 160.



or less than ten thousand. The Persians displayed the greatest magnificence of all, and were also the bravest; their armour was such as has been described; but besides this, they were conspicuous from the quantity of gold<sup>d</sup> which they wore; and at the same time they had Harmamaxas for their women with their attendants, who were numerous and richly clothed; and their provisions were brought upon camels and other beasts of burthen, separate from the other soldiers.

LXXXIV. All the nations I have mentioned are accustomed to mount on horseback; but not all supplied cavalry, only those which I shall enumerate. First, the Persians, who were no otherwise armed than their foot; except only that some of them wore on their heads ornaments of brass and wrought iron.

LXXXV. There is a certain Nomadic people, called Sagarthi, of Persian extraction and language, but armed and clothed in a manner participating both of the Persian and Pactyan fashion, who furnished eight thousand horsemen to this expedition. They had no weapon either of iron or brass, except a short sword; they use cords made of twisted leather, on which they place their dependance in action. Their mode of fighting is this: when they approach the enemy, they throw out their cords with a noose at the end, and whatever they catch, whether horse or man, they drag them towards them; and easily dispatch whatever is so entangled<sup>e</sup>. In this manner they fight; and were drawn up with the Persians.

LXXXVI. The Median and Cissian horse were no otherwise equipped than the foot of those nations: The Indians were also armed like their foot; besides led horses, they had chariots drawn by horses and wild asses<sup>f</sup>. The Bactrian and Caspian cavalry was furnished in all points as their infantry. The Lybians<sup>g</sup> were armed and clothed like their foot, and every one of them had a chariot. In like manner the Caspiani<sup>h</sup> and Paricanii, carried the same arms with their foot.

<sup>d</sup> Larcher quotes the following from Quintus Curtius, iii. 3. sect. 13. "Illi aureos torques, illi vestem auro distinctam habebant."

<sup>e</sup> Pausanias (i. 21.) applies to the Sauromatae what Herodotus here says of the Sagarthi. Larcher.

A similar mode of fighting was practised by those of the Roman gladiators, who were called Retiarii: beneath their bucklers they carried a kind of net, which, when the opportunity presented itself, they threw over the head of their

adversaries the Secutores, and thus entangled put them to death with a kind of trident, which constituted their offensive weapon. Beloe.

<sup>f</sup> This Larcher translates Zebras. See his reasons in his long note.

<sup>g</sup> The text has certainly been altered; the Lybians can have no place here. I am of opinion that we ought to substitute the *Ægli*, whom Herodotus (iii. 92.) places near the Bactriani. Larcher.

<sup>h</sup> The general reading is Caspians, but this must evidently be wrong. I have

And the Arabians, not at all differing from their infantry in arms or clothing, were mounted upon camels not inferior to horses in speed.

**LXXXVII.** These were the only nations that composed the cavalry; which amounted to the number of fourscore thousand, besides the camels and the chariots. All the horse were disposed in bands; but the Arabians were placed in the rear, lest the horses should be affrighted at the sight of the camels, which they cannot bear<sup>i</sup>.

**LXXXVIII.** Armamithres and Tithæus, the sons of Datis, were generals of the cavalry. For Pharnuches, who had been appointed their colleague, had been left behind at Sardis sick. For as they were setting out from Sardis, he met with a sad accident. As he was riding out, a dog ran between the legs of his horse; and the animal being frightened from not having perceived it before, reared up and threw Pharnuches; upon which he vomited blood, and the disease terminated in a consumption. But the servants of Pharnuches, as he ordered, immediately punished the horse upon the spot: for leading him to the place where he had thrown his master, they cut off his legs at the knees. And thus Pharnuches lost the office of general.

**LXXXIX.** After the land forces had been viewed, the ships of war were also numbered, and found to be twelve hundred and seven<sup>k</sup>; fitted out by the following nations, in

followed Schweighæuser. Major Rennell (p. 302.) thinks, that probably the Casians, or people of Casia, in Ptolemy are meant, who answer to the inhabitants of *Kashgur*. Larcher is of the same opinion.

<sup>i</sup> See i. ch. 80. and note.

<sup>k</sup> According to Herodotus, and Æschy-

lus, (*Persæ*. v. 339 et seq.) who was a cotemporary, the Persian fleet amounted to 1207; but according to Diodorus Siculus (xi. 3.) to 1200. The numbers which each nation furnished do not agree, as may be seen in the following comparison:

	According to Herodotus.	According to Diodorus.
The Phœnician vessels were .....	300.....	300
Egyptian .....	200.....	200
Cyprian .....	150.....	150
Cilician .....	100.....	80
Pamphylian .....	30.....	40
Lycian .....	50.....	40
Dorian .....	30.....	40
Carian .....	70.....	80
Ionian .....	100.....	100
Islanders .....	17.....	50
Æolian .....	60.....	40
Hellespontine .....	100.....	80
	<hr/> 1207	<hr/> 1200

Diodorus says also that the Greeks had 320 ships, but in his enumeration he only makes 310. This must be the fault of the copyists. *Larcher*.



such proportions as I shall set down. The Phœnicians and Syrians who inhabit Palæstine furnished three hundred ships, with men armed in this manner: on their head they wore helmets, nearly resembling those of the Grecians, and they also wore linen breast-plates. They carried javelins, and shields whose rims were not strengthened with metal. These Phœnicians, as they say of themselves, were anciently seated on the Red sea<sup>1</sup>; from whence they crossed over and settled in the maritime parts of Syria; which, with all the country extending down to Egypt, go under the name of Palæstine. The Egyptians sent two hundred ships for their part. Their men had woven helmets<sup>m</sup>, convex bucklers with large rims<sup>n</sup>, pikes<sup>o</sup> proper for a sea fight, and large battle-axes. The greater part had breast-plates, and were armed with large swords.

XC. The Cyprians brought a hundred and fifty ships, and were equipped in this manner: their kings wore mitres on their heads, and the rest were clothed in tunics<sup>p</sup>, and were in other respects armed like the Greeks. The people of Cyprus, if we may believe their own report, are composed of divers nations; some deriving themselves from Salamis and Athens; and others from Arcadia, from Cythnus, from Phœnicia, and some from Ethiopia.

XCI. The Cilicians furnished a hundred ships. They wore a cap made after the manner of their country; and instead of

<sup>1</sup> The following account of the original settlements of the Phœnicians on the Red sea, agrees with book i. ch. 1; and with the sacred writings of Moses and the Prophets, and Bochart, Vitranga, and Reland, after investigating the origin of the Philistines, came to the same conclusion. No one can deny that the Palæstini and Philistines are the same. Casluhim (out of whom came Philistim) and Capthorim are mentioned in Gen. x. 14. Deut. ii. 23. and Amos, ix. 7. The tract of country, which they originally inhabited, bordered on the sea, and was perhaps insular. See Jerem. xlvii. 4. Such a situation there was at the outer part of the Arabian gulf, which was also most convenient, from whence before the time of Moses they set out, and occupied the lower part of Egypt, Exod. xiii. 17. Which account, since the Philistines were of Egyptian origin, and formerly dwelt near Egypt, and since they themselves testify, that their ancestors originally dwelt on the borders of the Red sea, seems more credible than with Bochart to lead them by an unusual tract

into Colchis and Cappadocia, and then back again into Palæstine; or than the conjecture of Vitranga on Isaiah xiv. which makes them come from Cyrenaica and Crete. Wesseling.

<sup>m</sup> Hesychius explains κράνεα χηλεντὰ, by πλεκτὰ ἐκ χοίρου, woven of bulrushes. Valla has badly interpreted it cassides forcipulata. See Stephen. Thesaur. t. iv. p. 515. Wesseling.

<sup>n</sup> Ἰνυς is the border or rim of a buckler. It has been by some confounded with the ὀμφαλὸς, or boss. It was generally made of iron, whence Polybius (vi. 21.) calls it σιδηροῦν σάλωμα, the iron circumference of the shield. Larcher.

<sup>o</sup> These were probably used to prevent boarding.

<sup>p</sup> Corn. de Pauw pleasantly asks whether the Cyprians covered their heads with tunics. He substitutes κινάριας for κινῶνας. Wesseling objects to this, because the citar is was used by the Persians. But the Cilicians may have borrowed their head-dress from that people. Larcher.

shields, had bucklers of a small size, covered with untanned hides. They were clothed in woollen vests; and every one carried two javelins, with a sword very much resembling the Egyptian. The Cilicians were anciently called Hypachæans, and took the name they now have from Cilix the son of Agenor, a Phœnician. The Pamphylians, who are descended from those who, in their return from Troy, were dispersed by a tempest with Amphilochus<sup>a</sup> and Calchas<sup>r</sup>, furnished thirty ships, and were armed after the manner of the Greeks.

XCII. The Lycians supplied fifty ships, and were equipped with breast-plates and greaves. They had bows made of the corneil-tree, and arrows of reed, but without feathers, and javelins. Over their shoulders goat-skins were suspended; and upon their heads they wore caps encircled with a coronet of feathers. They had also falchions and poignards. They derive their original from Crete, and were formerly called Termilæ, but received the name of Lycians from Lycus the son of Pandion, an Athenian.

XCIII. The Dorians of Asia furnished thirty ships; and as they were Peloponnesians by descent, appeared, in all points, armed like the Greeks. The Carians contributed seventy ships; and, except their daggers and falchions, were armed after the manner of Greece. What name they had in ancient time, I have mentioned in the former part<sup>s</sup> of this work.

XCIV. The Ionians brought a hundred sail, and were equipped as the Greeks. Whilst they lived in Peloponnesus, and inhabited those parts which are now called Achaia, before the arrival of Danaus and Xuthus, the Greeks say, they went under the name of Pelasgian Ægialees<sup>t</sup>; and that they had the name of Ionians from Ion the son of Xuthus.

XCV. The Islanders<sup>u</sup> contributed seventeen ships, and

<sup>a</sup> See note on book iii. ch. 91.

<sup>r</sup> Every one is acquainted with the name of Calchas, but few perhaps with his end. Mopsus, son of Manto and Apollo, held at the death of his mother the oracle of Apollo at Claros, by right of inheritance. About the same time, Calchas, who had wandered about after the taking of Troy, arrived at Colophon. The two seers disputed a long time, but at last Amphilochus, king of Lycia, terminated their differences; for Mopsus dissuaded him from going to war, foretelling that he would be defeated; Calchas exhorted him to march, asserting that he would prove victorious. Amphilochus being defeated, Mopsus re-

ceived still greater honours, and Calchas killed himself. *Larcher*.

<sup>s</sup> See book i. ch. 171.

<sup>t</sup> All Peloponnesus was anciently called Pelasgia, but because these people inhabited the shores of the Corinthian gulf, they were called Αἰγιάλις. *Wesseling*.

<sup>u</sup> These Ionian Islanders could not be either those of Chios or of Samos. These assembled at the Panionium and formed part of the twelve cities, which these Islanders did not. *Diodorus Siculus* (xi. 3.) also joins the inhabitants of Chios and Samos to the Ionians, and, like *Herodotus*, separates the Islanders. But who then were they? The same *Diodorus* informs us. "The king," says he, "was



were armed like the Greeks. These also being of Pelasgian original, were afterwards called Ionians for the same reason, as the twelve Ionian cities which are sprung from Athens. The Æolians, who, as the Grecians say, were anciently called Pelasgians, brought sixty ships, and were armed after the manner of Greece. All the Hellespontines (except the Abydenians, who were ordered by the king to stay at home for the guard of the bridges) furnished one hundred sail; and being colonies of the Ionians and Dorians, appeared in Grecian arms.

XCVI. On board every one of these ships the Persians, Medes and Sacæ served as marines. But the Phœnician ships, and of these the Sidonian were the best sailors. All the divisions of this fleet, as well as of the land forces, had their own national officers; but I shall forbear to mention their names, as it is not necessary to inquire into the matter, because those commanders were not worthy of mention; and because they were no less numerous than the cities contained within the several nations, from which they came. They did not follow in the quality of generals, but like the other slaves, who marched on the expedition. And I have already mentioned as many of the generals, as were Persians, who had the chief command and were the leaders of each nation.

XCVII. The naval forces were commanded in chief by Ariabignes the son of Darius; by Prexaspes the son of Aspathines; by Megabazus the son of Megabates; and by Achæmenes the son of Darius. The Ionians and Carians were under the conduct of Ariabignes the son of Darius by the daughter of Gobryas; the Egyptians under that of Achæmenes brother to Xerxes, both on the father's and mother's side; and all the rest of the fleet was commanded by the two other generals before named. It appeared also that galleys of fifty and thirty oars, *cercuri*<sup>x</sup>, and long vessels to transport horses, assembled to the number of three thousand.

XCVIII. Of those who served in the fleet, the following were the most illustrious, after the generals; Tetramnestus the son of Anysus of Sidon, Mapen the son of Siromus of Tyre, Merbalus the son of Arbalus of Aridos, Syennesis<sup>y</sup> the son of Oromedon of Cilicia, Ciberniscus the son of Sica of

“joined by all the islands between the “Cyanean and the promontories of “Triopium and Sunium.” Thus it appears that they were the inhabitants of the isles of Ceos, or Cea, as the Latins say, Naxos, Siphnos, Seriphos, Andros and Tenos, who were Ionian, and found-

ed by the Athenians, as we see in Herodotus, viii. 46 and 48. and in Thucydides, vii. 57. *Valckenaer*.

<sup>x</sup> The *Cercurus* was a very long vessel, of which the Cyprians were the inventors. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 56.

<sup>y</sup> See note on book i. 74.

Lycia, Gorgus the son of Chersis, and Timonax the son of Timagoras, both Cyprians; and of the Carians, Histiaëus the son of Tymnes, Pygres the son of Seldomus, and Damasithymus the son of Candaules.

XCIX. The other captains I pass by without mentioning, because I judge it unnecessary. But above all I admire Artemisia<sup>z</sup>, who, though a female, joined in this expedition against Greece. This woman, as her son was under age at the death of her husband, took upon herself the administration of the kingdom, and, from a bold and manly spirit, joined in the expedition, though not constrained by any necessity. She was the daughter of Lygdamis, and derived her original by the father's side from Halicarnassus, and from Crete by the mother. The Halicarnassians, the Coans, the Nisyrians, and the Calydnians, were under her command; and she joined the fleet of Xerxes with five ships of war, which were the best in the whole fleet, I mean next to the Sidonians. Of all the confederates, she gave the most prudent counsel to the king. The people, which I before mentioned as being under her government, are, in my opinion, of Doric origin; for the Halicarnassians are a colony of the Trœzenians; and the rest are descended from the Epidaurians. But this is sufficient for the naval armament.

C. When Xerxes had caused all his forces to be numbered, and drawn into distinct bodies, he desired to pass through and survey them; and to that end stepping into a chariot, was carried past each nation, and having asked such questions as he thought necessary, commanded his secretaries to put in writing the answers he received; continuing to proceed in this manner, till he had gone from one extremity to the other, both of the horse and foot. When he had finished this, and the ships had been launched into the sea, he went from his chariot, on board a Sidonian ship, and sat under a gilded canopy: he then sailed past the prows of the ships, and made the like inquiry as before in relation to the land forces, and ordered an account of all the particulars to be written down by the same persons. In order to this review, the commanders had put to sea in due time; and having drawn their ships into one line, at the distance of about four hundred feet from the shore, with their heads fronting that way, they armed their men as for a battle; and Xerxes sailing between the land and the ships, viewed them.

<sup>z</sup> If we may believe Ptolemy, (Hephæst. ap. Phot. p. 492.) a writer who has mixed many fables with some truths, Artemisia became enamoured of Dardanus of Abydos; but finding herself slighted, she put out his eyes while he slept.

Her love being only increased by the anger of the Gods, she went to Leucas by order of the oracle, and having taken the celebrated lover's leap, she perished.

*Larcher.*



CI. When he had made an end of viewing the fleet, and had landed from his ship, he sent for Demaratus the son of Ariston, who accompanied him in the expedition, and addressed him thus: "Demaratus, I desire to ask you certain questions; you are a Greek, and moreover, born in a city of Greece, which, as I am informed by you, and other persons of that nation with whom I have conversed, is neither the least, nor the weakest. Tell me, therefore, whether you think the Grecians will dare to lift up their hands against me? for I am persuaded, that if, not only all the Grecians, but all the rest of the western world, were collected into one body, they would not be able to oppose my attack, unless they were in perfect union. However, I am desirous to know your opinion on this subject." "Sir," said Demaratus, "shall I frame my answer according to the truth, or according to what is agreeable?" The king bid him speak the truth with freedom, assuring him that he would not be at all less agreeable to him on that account.

CII. Which when Demaratus heard, he began thus: "O king, since you positively require me to follow the truth, I will speak those things<sup>b</sup>, which no one speaking as I do, will be hereafter convicted of falsehood. Poverty has ever been the foster sister of Greece; virtue has been introduced as an ally, having been accomplished by wisdom<sup>c</sup>, and by a steady discipline, with which she has warded off poverty and tyranny. These praises are justly due to all those Grecians who inhabit the country of the Dorians. But I shall not now speak of any other people than of the Lacedæmonians alone. In the first place, they never will hearken to your terms, because they are destructive to the Grecian liberty: nay more, they will not fail to meet you in the field, though all the rest of the Grecians should side with you. To ask how many they are in number, is unnecessary; for whether a thousand men, or more, or even less, should have marched out, they will certainly give you battle."

CIII. At these words of Demaratus, Xerxes laughing said, "What have you said? that a thousand men will venture to engage so great an army? Come, tell me, do not you say

<sup>a</sup> Beloe quotes the following from the Andria of Terence:

"Obsequiem amicos veritas odium parit."

See the remarks of Cicero on this sentiment, in his treatise de Amicitia, 24.

<sup>b</sup> This sentence is rather intricate. We must supply it, as if it had been thus expressed; ἐπειδὴ με ταῦτα λέγοντα κελεύεις ἀληθῆν χρησασθαι, (λέξω) τὰ

(λέξας) μὴ ψευδομένους ὑστερον ὑπὸ σεῦ ἀλώσεται. Quando-quidem his de rebus verba facientem me jubes ad veritatem loqui, ea dicam, quæ qui dixerit a te postea non arguetur mendacii. Valckenaer.

<sup>c</sup> Σοφία, in our author, as in common among the Greeks, signifies the liberal arts, learning, the cultivation of the understanding, &c. Schweigh.

“ that you have been the king of these men? Will you then  
 “ on the spot fight singly against ten men? And yet if all  
 “ your fellow-citizens are such as you pretend, you, who are  
 “ their king, ought by your own institutions to be matched  
 “ against twice that number; and therefore, if one of these is  
 “ able to fight ten of my men, I may justly require you to  
 “ fight twenty, and by that experiment your discourse would  
 “ be confirmed. But if ye boast so much, when ye are nei-  
 “ ther of greater strength, nor of a higher stature, than you,  
 “ and the rest of the Grecians I have seen, consider, whether  
 “ the words which you have uttered are not an idle boast<sup>d</sup>.  
 “ For let us see what is in any way probable: how could a thou-  
 “ sand men, or even ten thousand, or, if you will, fifty thou-  
 “ sand, all equally free, and not subject to the command of a  
 “ single person, possibly resist such an army as mine? and  
 “ unless they are more than five thousand, we have more  
 “ than a thousand men against one. Were they, indeed, like  
 “ our forces, under the absolute command of one general, they  
 “ might from their apprehensions of his power, prove superior  
 “ to their natural courage; and might, constrained by the  
 “ scourge, attack a far greater number than themselves; but  
 “ now, being under no compulsion, they are not likely to do  
 “ either the one or the other. And I am of opinion, that the  
 “ Grecians, upon trial, would hardly be a match for an equal  
 “ number of Persians. Those qualities of which you boast,  
 “ are really in us only, though I must own they are rare and  
 “ uncommon. Yet I have Persians in my guards, who will  
 “ not refuse to encounter three Greeks at once<sup>e</sup>; and you  
 “ being ignorant of these men, speak many idle trifles.”

CIV. To this Demaratus replied; “ Sir, I knew from the  
 “ beginning, that if I followed the truth, I should not speak  
 “ what would be agreeable to you; but because you con-  
 “ strained me to deliver my opinion with sincerity, I told you  
 “ the real character<sup>f</sup> of the Spartans. You know how little  
 “ cause I have to retain any affection for those, who, after they  
 “ had deprived me of the honours and dignity of my ances-  
 “ tors, constrained me to abandon my country. On the other  
 “ hand you know how generously your father received me,  
 “ and made ample provision<sup>g</sup> for my support; and therefore

<sup>d</sup> Μάρην, in this and in a hundred other places, does not signify *frustra*, but *false*. Larcher.

<sup>e</sup> This vain boast of Xerxes was in the end punished by Polydamas. Darius, (Pausan. vi. 5.) the natural son of Artaxerxes, who ascended the throne by the favour of the Persians, had heard of his extraordinary strength. Polydamas, be-

ing allured to Susa by promises, challenged three of those whom the Persians call immortal, engaged with them all three at once and killed them. Larcher.

<sup>f</sup> Τὰ κατήκοντα are the present, actual affairs. Larcher proposes to translate the passage; “ Je vous ai dit des choses con-  
 “ venable aux Spartiates.”

<sup>g</sup> That prince gave him (Xenoph.



" it is improbable that any man in his right senses should reject such manifest kindness, but regard it with all possible gratitude. For my own part, I do not undertake to fight with ten men, nor with two; and I would not willingly fight with one. But if there was any necessity or any great danger to excite me, I would most willingly engage one of those, who pretend to be singly equal to three Grecians. In like manner the Lacedæmonians are not worse than other men in single combat; but in a collected body they surpass all mankind. And though they are a free people; yet in some things they are willing to be restrained. For the law is their sovereign; which they obey with a more awful reverence, than your subjects pay to you. They do whatever she enjoins; and her injunctions are always uniform. She forbids them to fly from any enemy, though his forces are ever so numerous; and commands them to keep their ranks, and to conquer or die in the battle. If you think I entertain you with impertinent discourse, I shall say no more on this subject: nor indeed should have said so much, had I not been constrained by the command you laid upon me. Nevertheless I wish you all the prosperity you can desire."

CV. When Demaratus had thus spoken, Xerxes laughed, and, without being at all angry, dismissed him mildly; and after he had appointed Mascames the son of Megadostes to be governor of this above-mentioned Doriscus<sup>h</sup>, in the room of another person who had been placed in that government by Darius, he advanced with his army through Thrace towards Greece.

CVI. To this Mascames, Xerxes used to send a present every year, as being the best of all the governors that either he or Darius had appointed; and his son Artaxerxes continued the same bounty to his posterity. For before this expedition prefects were appointed in Thrace, and along the whole coast of the Hellespont. And of all these, whether in Thrace or on the Hellespont, none were able to preserve the places they held, from falling into the hands of the Grecians, except only Mascames; who kept himself in possession<sup>i</sup> of Doriscus, not-

Hellen. iii. 1. § 4.) the towns of Pergamus, Teuthramia, and Halisarmia.

<sup>h</sup> Herodotus only adds the pronoun οὗτος to those names, of which he has before made mention; and therefore, by the expression, ἐν τῇ Δορίσκῳ τούτῳ, he refers the reader to that part of the narration, (ch. 59.) from whence he had digressed, in order to give an account of the nations which composed the army,

&c. Schweigh.

<sup>i</sup> Herodotus alone, among the Grecian historians remaining to us, has had the candour to mention this, or to acknowledge that a Persian garrison continued to exist in Europe: but these events, being posterior to the period which he had fixed for the term of his history, he has noticed them only incidentally; so that we are without infor-

withstanding the many attempts they made against him : and on this account he annually received a present from the king of Persia.

**CVII.** But among all the governors of those cities, which were retaken by the Grecians, Xerxes thought no man had behaved himself with courage, except Bogen<sup>k</sup>, who commanded in Eion. He took every occasion to mention him with praise, and conferred the highest honours upon the children he left in Persia. The truth is, Bogen deserved the greatest commendation. For when he was besieged by the Athenians, under the conduct of Cimon the son of Miltiades, and might have marched out, with leave to return to Asia upon his honour, he refused to accept any conditions, lest the king should suspect him of cowardice: and persisting constantly in that resolution, after his provisions were quite spent he caused a great pile to be raised; and having killed his wife and children, with his concubines and servants, threw their bodies into the flames: then mounting the walls of the city, he cast all the silver and gold that was to be found into the river Strymon; and after he had so done, threw himself into the fire. So that he is with justice<sup>l</sup> even to this day commended by the Persians.

**CVIII.** Xerxes set out from Doriscus towards Greece, and compelled all the nations he found in his way to join his army with their forces. For, as I said before<sup>m</sup>, all those countries, even to Thessaly, had been subdued and made tributary to him by Megabazus, and afterwards by Mardonius. In his march from Doriscus, he passed by first the Samothracian fortresses; the last and most westwardly of which is called Mesambrie<sup>n</sup>, situated at a small distance from Stryme<sup>o</sup>, a city of the Thasians. Between these two places runs the river Lissus; which could not supply water enough for Xerxes and his army, but failed. This country was anciently known by the name of Galaice, and is now called Briantice; but of right belongs to the Ciconians<sup>p</sup>.

mation of any further particulars concerning that remarkable defence of Doriscus by Mascames. Mitford, ch. xi. sect. 3.

<sup>k</sup> This name is by Pausanias erroneously written Boes. See viii. 8. Thucydides (i. 98.) also mentions this expedition of Cimon, as well as Æschines (contra Ctesiph. p. 80.) and several other authors. This Cimon was the grandson of the one mentioned in vi. 34. 39. *Larcher*.

<sup>l</sup> I cannot be of the same opinion as Herodotus. The conduct of Bogen ap-

pears to me to be that of a madman; all laws, both divine and human, condemn it equally. *Larcher*.

<sup>m</sup> See v. 12. 15. and vi. 43, 44, 45.

<sup>n</sup> This is a different place from Mesambria, which was on the Euxine. Its modern name is Misevria. *Larcher*.

<sup>o</sup> This place was famous for its commerce. According to Harpocration it was an island. It appears to have been under the protection of Maronea. It still preserves its ancient name. *Larcher*.

<sup>p</sup> Compare ch. lix. l. 12. and ch. cx. l. 2.



CIX. When Xerxes had passed the dried-up channel of the Lissus, he marched by the Grecian cities of Maronea<sup>a</sup>, Dicea<sup>r</sup>, and Abdera<sup>s</sup>; with the memorable lakes of Ismaris and Bistonis<sup>t</sup>, which lie in their neighbourhood. For the former of these is situate between Maronea and Stryme; and the latter is contiguous to Dicæa, and receives the waters of the two rivers Travus and Compsatus. Xerxes passed by no remarkable lake about Abdera, but the river Nestus, which runs into the sea: he afterwards continued his march past the midland cities. In one of these, called Pistyrus<sup>u</sup>, is a lake, about thirty stades in circumference; it is very salt and abounds in fish; which was drunk up by the draught horses, and other cattle belonging to the baggage of his army. He passed by all these maritime and Grecian cities, leaving them on the left hand.

CX. The nations of Thrace, through whose country he marched, are these; the Pæti, the Ciconians, the Bistonians, the Sapæi, the Dersæi, the Edoni, and the Satræ. As many of these as are situate near the sea, attended him with their ships; and those who inhabited the inland parts were all obliged to follow the army by land, except the Satræ.

CXI. This people, as far as we are informed, were never subject to any one, and among all the Thracians, have singly continued free to this day. For they dwell on lofty mountains, covered with woods and snow; and are peculiarly valiant in war; they have an oracle of Bacchus in the highest part of their hills. The Bessi<sup>x</sup> act as interpreters<sup>y</sup> in this temple; and, as in Delphi, a priestess delivers the answers of the oracle, which are not more ambiguous.

CXII. Having traversed these countries, he passed by

<sup>a</sup> Muronea acknowledged Bacchus as its protector, on account of the excellent wines which were produced there. It is now called Marogna, and is an archiepiscopal seat. *Larcher*.

<sup>r</sup> This place is now called Mporou, according to Meletius, *Geograph.* p. 419.

<sup>s</sup> Abdera has been destroyed, or at any rate we are ignorant of its modern name. It gave birth to Democritus, Protagoras, Anaxarchus, and the historian Hecataeus, nevertheless Juvenal has stigmatized it in his 10th Satire, v. 47. as being unable to produce great men. *Larcher*.

<sup>t</sup> This is now called the lake of Bouron; the Turks call it the lake of Mporou.

<sup>u</sup> I am of opinion that the name of this town has been altered by copyists, and that we ought to read Topiris. All

the letters of this word may be found in the other, with the exception of two. *Larcher*. See his Table *Geograph.*

<sup>x</sup> The Bessi were a people of Thrace to the north west of Pieria, and inhabited the banks of the Nestus, from its source to the country of the Satræ. They were partly blended with the Satræ, since they interpreted the oracles of Bacchus. They occupied the greater part of Mount Hæmus. (*Strabo* vii. p. 490.) They were called Lestæ, (*Ληστæ*) or robbers. *Pliny* (iv. 11.) says, that the people in general were called Bessi, and they contained several tribes, each of which had its own particular name. *Larcher*.

<sup>y</sup> Their office was to put in order, and to declare the oracles which the priestess pronounced.

certain forts of the Persians, one called Phagres and the other Pergamus; leaving Pangæus on the right hand, which is a great and high mountain, abounding in mines of gold and silver, possessed by the Pierians, Odomanti, and especially by the Satræ.

CXIII. Then passing through the territories of the Pæonians, the Doberes, and the Pæoplæ, who inhabit to the north, beyond mount Pangæus, he bent his march westward, till he arrived at Eion on the river Strymon; of which city, Boges, whom I have so lately mentioned<sup>z</sup>, was at that time governor. The country that lies about the mountain Pangæus is called Phillis; on the west side, extending to the river Angites, which falls into the Strymon; and on the south, to the Strymon itself. At their arrival, the Magi offered a sacrifice of white horses<sup>a</sup> to this river.

CXIV. After these and many other incantations besides, had been performed with regard to this river, they marched into the Nine Ways belonging to the Edoni, over the bridges<sup>b</sup> prepared for their passage over the Strymon. But being informed that this place was called by the name of the Nine Ways, they took nine of the sons and daughters of the inhabitants, and buried them alive. The custom of burying people alive is prevalent in Persia. And I have heard that Amestris the wife of Xerxes, having attained to a considerable age, caused fourteen children<sup>c</sup> of the best families in Persia to be interred alive, for a sacrifice of thanks to that god who, they say, is beneath the earth.

CXV. The army having left the river Strymon, passed by a Grecian city called Argilus; which is situate to the westward, on the sea coast, and, with the country that lies above it, goes under the name of Bisaltia. Then leaving the bay, where the temple of Neptune is built, on the left hand, they marched through the plain of Syleus; and passing by Stagirus a Grecian city, arrived at Acanthus; accompanied by the

<sup>z</sup> Ch. 107.

<sup>a</sup> When the Persians arrive at a lake, river or fountain, they dig a trench, and in it kill the victim, taking great care that the clear water be not stained with blood, as it would pollute it. They then place the flesh of the victim on branches of myrtle or laurel, and burn it with small sticks, during which they chaunt their Theogony and offer libations of oil mixed with honey, which they do not pour into the fire or water, but on the ground. The singing the Theogony occupies a long time, during which they hold in their hands a bundle of short pieces of briars. Strabo, xv. p. 1065.

<sup>b</sup> In the same place Amphipolis was afterwards built. See Thucyd. iv. 102. *Karà τὰς γέφυρας* has been by some badly rendered *ad pontes*; so also Larcher, "ils marcherent vers les ponts." It would have been more correct to have put *per pontes*, over the bridges which Xerxes had ordered (see ch. 25.) to be thrown over the Strymon. Schweighauser.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch (de Superstit. p. 171.) says 12 men. The examples of Cambyses and others, quoted by the President Brisson, (de Regno Pers. ii. 218.) prove that this was a common custom among the Persians. Larcher.



forces of the Pangæans, and of all the other nations I have named, which they found in their way; the inhabitants of the maritime places putting to sea in their ships, and those of the inland parts following the army on foot. From the time of this march, the Thracians have always shewn so great a veneration for the way, by which Xerxes led his forces, that they have totally abstained from breaking up or sowing any part of that ground to this day.

CXVI. When the army was arrived at Acanthus, Xerxes proclaimed an intercourse of hospitality with the inhabitants; and presented them with suits of apparel made after the fashion of the Medes<sup>d</sup>; he also commended their readiness to attend him in this war, and expressed great satisfaction when he heard that the canal of mount Athos was finished.

CXVII. But whilst he continued at Acanthus, Artachæes<sup>e</sup>, who had been the director of that work, fell sick and died. He was highly esteemed by Xerxes, and derived his blood from Achæmenes: his voice was stronger than that of any other man; he was in stature the tallest of all the Persians, and wanted only four fingers to complete the full height of five royal cubits<sup>f</sup>. Xerxes much lamenting the loss of this person, caused him to be accompanied to the grave, and interred with great pomp. All the army was employed in heap-ing up a mound<sup>g</sup> as a monument to his memory; and the Acanthians, admonished by an oracle, honour him as a hero with sacrifices and invocations. Thus Xerxes considered the death of Artachæes as a great misfortune.

CXVIII. The Grecians, who entertained the army and provided a banquet for Xerxes, were reduced to extreme distress, so that they were obliged to abandon their homes. Since when the Thasians received and entertained his army, in the name of their continental cities, Antipater the son of Orges, one of the most distinguished citizens, who was selected for the purpose, shewed them that four hundred talents of silver had been expended on the banquet.

<sup>d</sup> This dress was the invention of Semiramis, daughter of Ninus. (Diodor. Sic. ii. 6.) It was so graceful that the Medes adopted it after they had conquered Asia, in which they were followed by the Persians. *Larcher*.

<sup>e</sup> See ch. 21.

<sup>f</sup> Supposing Herodotus to mean the Babylonian measures, this, according to D'Anville, would be seven feet eight inches high, French measure. *Larcher*.

<sup>g</sup> Homer gives a corresponding description of the sepulchral barrow raised by the Grecian army in honour of the heroes

who fell before Troy. See *Odyssey* xxiv. 84. The custom of forming these sepulchral barrows, long lost over the greater part of Europe, is yet preserved in Spain. "By the road side," says Townsend, (*Journey through Spain*, vol. i. p. 200.) "are seen wooden crosses, to mark the spot where some unhappy traveller lost his life. The passengers think it a work of piety to cast a stone upon the monumental heap. Whatever may have been the origin of this practice, it is general over Spain." Mitford's *Greece*, ch. viii. sect. 1. note 4.

CXIX. In like manner those who presided in the other cities, gave in their accounts. For the supper, as a long previous notice had been given, and great preparations had been made, was of this kind. In the first place, as soon as they heard the heralds proclaiming it all around, the inhabitants of those places distributed all the wheat and barley they had, in convenient portions, among themselves; and were occupied in grinding it<sup>h</sup> for many months. They bought and fatted the best of cattle; furnished their ponds and yards with all manner of land and water fowl, and did whatever they could to make provisions for Xerxes and his army. Besides, they provided cups and basons of gold and silver, with all things necessary for the service of a table. But these preparations were made for the king, and for those who were admitted to eat with him: the rest of the army had provisions only. In all places where Xerxes arrived, he found a spacious tent erected for his reception; but the forces had no other covering than the air. At the time of eating, those who furnished the provisions, had the labour of serving their guests; who, after they had been plentifully treated, and passed the night, carried away the tent, with all the furniture and utensils; leaving nothing behind them at their departure in the morning.

CXX. On which occasion Megacreon of Abdera aptly said, that he would advise the Abderites to go in a general procession, with their wives and all the people, to the temples of that city; and to take their seats as suppliants to the Gods, beseeching them to avert one half of the evils to come, as well as to acknowledge their favour in not inclining Xerxes to eat twice every day: for if the Abderites were commanded to provide a dinner for him equal to his supper, they would be necessitated either to abandon their dwellings, or, if they should stay, to be ruined in the most wretched manner. Yet they obeyed the injunctions they had received, though not without difficulty.

CXXI. Xerxes dispatched his fleet from Acanthus to pursue their voyage, having issued orders to the prefects that the fleet should await his arrival at Therma, situated on the Thermæan gulf, which derives its name from the city, because he had heard that was the shortest way he could take. The order of his march between the cities of Doriscus and Acanthus was thus. He divided the army into three bodies; one of which, commanded by Mardonius and Masistes, marched along the coast, and kept company with the fleet. A second advanced by the way of the inland countries, under the conduct of Trintatæchmes and Gergis: whilst the third body, with

<sup>h</sup>"*Ἀλευρα* is the flour of wheat, "*Ἀλφιτα* the flour of barley. *Larcher.*



which was the king himself, marched between the other two, with Smerdomenes and Megabyzus at their head.

CXXII. But the fleet, when it had been dismissed by Xerxes, and had passed through the canal which extends along Athos as far as the bay<sup>1</sup>, where the cities of Assa, Pylorus, Singus, and Sarta are situate, after they had obliged those places to join them with their forces, set sail towards the bay of Therma<sup>k</sup>. Doubling the Toronæan promontory of Ampelos, they passed by the following Greek cities, from which they took ships and men, viz. Torone, Galepsus, Sermyle, Mecyberna, and Olynthus, all belonging to the country which is now called Sithonia.

CXXIII. From the cape of Ampelus, crossing over to the promontory of Canastrum, which advances farther into the sea than any other upon all the coast of Pallene, they had an additional force of ships and men, out of the cities of Potidæa, Aphytis, Neapolis, Æga, Therambus, Scione, Mende, and Sane<sup>l</sup>, cities of Pallene; which was anciently known by the name of Phlegra. Continuing their voyage along that coast, they assembled more auxiliary forces, out of the cities of Lipaxus, Combrea, Lisæ, Gigonus, Campsa, Smila, and Ænea; which are situate in the neighbourhood of Pallene, and near the bay of Therma. The country, in which these cities are situate, is even to the present time known by the name of Crossæa<sup>m</sup>. From Ænea, the last of the places I mentioned, the fleet stood for the gulf of Therma, and the Mygdonian coast; till, according to their instructions, they arrived at Therma, and at the cities of Sindus and Chalestra, both situate on the river Axius, which divides the territories of Mygdonia from those of Bottiæis; where the cities of Ichnæ and Pella stand in a narrow region near the sea.

CXXIV. The fleet took their stations either near the river Axius, or the city of Therma, or else in the places that lie between both; and there waited the arrival of the king. In the mean time Xerxes and the land army departed from Acanthus in his way to Therma; and advancing by the midland countries, marched through the territories of the Pæonians and Crestonæans towards the river Echidorus; which

<sup>1</sup> The verb ἔχειν in book i. ch. 180. 11. and other passages in our author, has the same force as *dirigi, tendere versus aliquod extremum*. And so also its compound διέχειν (although used elsewhere in a very different signification) might very conveniently signify *pervenire, pertingere, pertinere usque ad illud ipsum extremum, quo tendebatur*. Schweigh.

<sup>k</sup> This bay was called Singiticus Sinus.

<sup>l</sup> This was a very different town from that which was mentioned in ch. 22. Wesseling.

<sup>m</sup> Thucydides (ii. 79.) calls this country Crusis, (Κρουσίς.) Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Stephens of Byzantium, agree with Thucydides, and on their authority Larcher here reads Crusæa. See his Table Geographique.

beginning among the Crestonæans, passes through Mygdonia, and discharges itself near a marsh, which is above the river Axios.

CXXV. In this march the camels that carried provisions for the army were assaulted by lions; which coming down in the night from their haunts, fell upon those animals only; leaving all the other cattle, and the men, untouched. And I wonder<sup>a</sup> what could be the reason, which induced the lions to abstain from all the rest, and attack the camels alone, an animal which they had never before seen or tasted.

CXXVI. But lions are very numerous in those parts; and wild bulls with large horns frequently brought into Greece. Nevertheless these lions never pass beyond the river Nestus which runs through Abdera on one side, nor beyond the Achelous, which flows through Acarnania on the other. And no man ever saw a lion in Europe, eastward of the river Nestus, nor in any part of the continent that lies to the westward of the Achelous; but they breed between these two rivers.

CXXVII. Being arrived at Therma, Xerxes disposed his army into a camp, extended along the maritime parts, from the city of Therma, and from Mygdonia, to the rivers Lydias and Haliacmon<sup>o</sup>; which joining their streams together, pass between the territories of Bottiæis and Macedonia. Here the Barbarians encamped, after they had exhausted the waters of the Echidorus, which was the only river they found in this march that afforded not a sufficient quantity for the use of the army.

CXXVIII. From Therma Xerxes had a prospect of the Thessalian mountains, Olympus and Ossa, remarkable for their height and bigness; and being informed that the river

<sup>a</sup> "Herodotus," says Bellanger, in a note on this passage, "was no great naturalist. The Arabians, and all those who inhabit the countries, where there are lions and camels, very well know how fond the lion is of the flesh of the camel." See *Ælian. Hist. Anim.* xvii. 36. Herodotus certainly was not very well versed in natural history, but if he had been, it might still have appeared surprising to him, that lions, which had never before seen camels or tasted their flesh, should attack them in preference to other beasts of burden. That in Arabia lions should prefer a camel to a horse seems natural enough; they know by experience the flesh of these two animals, and that of the former is doubtless more to their taste: but how could they have obtained this knowledge in Macedonia? I confess this would appear to me as

wonderful as it did to Herodotus, unless we say that it is an instinct given them by the Author of nature. *Larcher.*

<sup>o</sup> This passage, as far as relates to Geography, is one of the most difficult in Herodotus. The Lydias and the Haliacmon, according to Ptolemy and the abridger of Strabo, have different mouths. Until we have more accurate knowledge of these countries, it will be impossible to decide one way or the other. Larcher supposes that the copyists substituted the Haliacmon which they had heard of for the Astræus which is not so considerable, but whose course agrees with the one here ascribed to the Haliacmon. See his *Table Geographique*, and also the conjectures of the Abbé Bellanger in his *Essais Critique*, pag. 376. et seq.



Peneus runs into the sea through a narrow passage between those hills, and that there was a road leading to the plains of Thessaly, he much desired to embark and see the mouth of that river; because he designed to march with his army by the upper country through Macedonia, and by the city of Gonnus, into the country of the Perrhæbi; which he understood to be the safest way. Accordingly, leaving his forces in their camp, he went on board a Sidonian ship, which he always used upon such occasions, and made a signal for all the rest of the fleet to follow. When he arrived at the mouth of the river Peneus, he viewed the place, and being surprised with the situation, asked his guides, if any means could be contrived to divert the course of the stream, and to carry it by another channel into the sea.

CXXIX. Thessaly<sup>p</sup> is reported to have been anciently a lake, since it is encompassed by vast mountains on all sides. For Pelion and Ossa joining together at the foot of each, shut up that part which faces the east: on the north side stands mount Olympus, Pindus on the west, and Othrys closes that side which lies to the southward. The hollow space in the midst of these mountains is Thessaly. Since then several other rivers, and these five principal ones, viz. the Peneus, the Apidanus, the Onochonus, the Enipeus, and the Pamisus, flow into this country, from the mountains that encompass it; they, all joining their streams together, discharge themselves into the sea through one narrow channel, and from the place of their conjunction, the name of the Peneus prevails, and renders the others nameless. They also say, that, before this channel was laid open, neither these rivers, nor the lake Boëbeis, were known by the names they now bear, though the waters then fell down from the mountains in the same quantity as at this day, but that they made all Thessaly one entire lake. The Thessalians tell us, that the channel, by which the river Peneus passes into the sea, is the work of Neptune, and their story is not improbable. For those who think that god to be the author of earthquakes, and such divulsions of countries to be the effect of his power, will not fail, upon sight, to attribute this to Neptune. And in my opinion, the separation of these mountains was effected by an earthquake<sup>q</sup>.

CXXX. But the guides of Xerxes, in answer to his ques-

<sup>p</sup> Rennell remarks, that this description of Thessaly, as well as of the straits of Thermopylæ, proves how well Herodotus had considered the scenes of particular actions.

<sup>q</sup> Strabo (ix. p. 658.) and the Scholiast on Pindar (Pyth. iv. ver. 246.) agree with our Author in attributing the separation of the mountains to an earthquake.

tion, whether the river Peneus might be conveyed into the sea by another channel, being well acquainted with the place, said, "O king, this river has no other way to discharge its waters, except this alone; because all Thessaly is surrounded with hills." At this Xerxes is reported to have said: "The Thessalians are prudent men, and therefore they long ago took precautions, and acknowledged their inferiority, both on other accounts, and because they possessed a country which might be easily subdued in a short time. For nothing more is required to effect this, than to force the river from its channel by a mound, and to turn it from its present course; which would certainly lay all Thessaly within the mountains under water." Xerxes expressed himself in this manner, in reference to the Aleuadae<sup>r</sup>; who being Thessalians, had put themselves under his protection, before any other people of Greece; and he supposed that they proffered their alliance in the name of the whole people. Having thus spoken, and satisfied his curiosity, he sailed back to Therma.

CXXXI. He spent several days about Pieria, while one third part of his forces was employed in clearing a way for all his army to pass over a mountain of Macedonia into the territories of the Perrhæbi. In the mean time the heralds, who who had been sent<sup>s</sup> to Greece to demand earth and water, returned to Xerxes; some with earth and water, and others without.

CXXXII. The nations that sent, in compliance with his demands, were, the Thessalians, the Dolopians, the Ænienes, the Perrhæbi, the Locri, the Magnetes, the Melians, the Achæans, the Pthiotæ, and the Thebans, with all the rest of the Bœotians, except the Thespians and the Platæans. Against these all the Greeks, who resolved to defend themselves against the Barbarians by war, took a solemn oath<sup>t</sup>, "that so soon as the affairs of Greece should be restored to a good condition, they would compel every Grecian community, which should be convicted of having put themselves into the hands of the Persians without manifest necessity, to pay the tenth part<sup>u</sup> of all their possessions to the God at Delphi." Such was the form of the oath.

CXXXIII. Xerxes sent no heralds either to Athens or

<sup>r</sup> See chap. vi.

<sup>s</sup> See chap. xxxii.

<sup>t</sup> The Greek is *ἐταμον ὅρκιον*, *securunt iusjurandum*. This expression originated from their never making any treaty or agreement, without sacrificing victims. So also the Latins said, *ferire fœdus*. Larcher.

In like manner we say in English, *strike a bargain*. Beloe.

<sup>u</sup> M. Terraßon supposed that every tenth person was to be given up to the God; and the same is hinted at by Creuzer in his *Fragments of Ancient Greek Histor.* p. 178. See the remarks of Larcher and Schweighæuser.



Sparta to demand earth and water; because, when Darius had formerly sent ambassadors for the same purpose, the Athenians threw the heralds into the barathrum<sup>x</sup>, and the Lacedæmonians into a well, bidding them carry earth and water to the king from those places. For that reason no heralds were dispatched to either of these nations. What disaster<sup>y</sup> fell upon the Athenians, in consequence of this treatment of those messengers, I cannot affirm; except that their city and all their territories were devastated; but not, as I believe, on that account.

CXXXIV. On the Lacedæmonians, however, the anger of Talthybius, who had been herald to Agamemnon descended. He has a temple in Sparta; and his posterity<sup>z</sup>, who go by the name of Talthybiadæ, have the privilege of performing all embassies. After the bad reception they gave to the heralds of Darius, the Lacedæmonians could not sacrifice for a long time; and being much disturbed at this, and considering it a great calamity, they met together often, and by public proclamation made inquiry, "if any Lacedæmonian would die for "Sparta." Upon which notification, Sperthies<sup>a</sup> the son of Aneristus, and Bulis the son of Nicolaus, both Spartans of distinguished birth, and possessed of the greatest riches in the place, voluntarily offered their lives, to make satisfaction to Xerxes the son of Darius for the heralds who were put to death at Sparta. And accordingly the Lacedæmonians sent these persons to the Medes, as to certain death.

CXXXV. But as their courage deserved admiration, so their words were no less memorable. For when, in their way to Susa, they came to Hydarnes, a Persian by birth, and governor of the maritime parts of Asia, he offered them hospitality, and entertained them, and while they were feasting asked them this question; "Men of Lacedæmon, why have you "such an aversion for the king's friendship? You may see by "example, and the dignities I possess, how well the king "knows in what way to honour a brave man. So also, if you "would surrender yourselves to the king, since he entertains

<sup>x</sup> See note on book vi. ch. 136.

<sup>y</sup> The anger of Talthybius (Pausan. iii. 12.) fell on the republic of Lacedæmon generally, but at Athens on one particular family, on that of Miltiades, son of Cimon, because he advised the Athenians to put to death the heralds who came into Attica. *Larcher*.

<sup>z</sup> Compare book vi. ch. 60.

<sup>a</sup> There is great variation with regard to the name of this Spartan. It is written Spertis, Sperchis, and Sperches, but

it is of little importance. Suidas, by an unpardonable negligence, changes these two Lacedæmonians into two Athenians. They sung in honour of these two generous men a melancholy dirge called Sperchis, though I doubt not but that Bulis was also celebrated in it, as Aristogiton was in that of Harmodius. See Theocrit. Idyll. xv. ver. 96—98. and consult the remarks of Valckenaer on the Syracus. of Theocritus. *Larcher*.

“ a high opinion of you, each of you would obtain from him  
 “ the government of some part of Greece.” They answered,  
 “ Hydarnes, the advice you give us is not fair; you advice  
 “ us to the one, which you have tried, but you are ignorant  
 “ of the other. To be a servant, you know perfectly well;  
 “ but you have never tasted whether liberty be sweet or  
 “ not. If you had ever tasted it, you would counsel us to de-  
 “ fend it, not with lances, but with hatchets<sup>b</sup>.” This answer  
 they made Hydarnes.

CXXXVI. When they arrived at Susa, and appeared be-  
 fore the king, in the first place, when the guards commanded,  
 and endeavoured to constrain them by force to prostrate them-  
 selves<sup>c</sup>, and to adore him, they said, they would by no means  
 do so, although they were thrown on their heads; that they  
 had never been accustomed to adore a man, and came not  
 thither to that end. They thus defended themselves from  
 this, and then they spoke<sup>d</sup> to Xerxes in these and simi-  
 lar words; “ King of the Medes, we are sent by the Lacedæ-  
 “ monians, to make you satisfaction for the death of those  
 “ heralds who were killed in Sparta;” Xerxes generously an-  
 swered, “ that he would not be like the Lacedæmonians, who  
 “ had violated the rights of mankind by the murder of his  
 “ heralds; nor do the same thing which he blamed in them :  
 “ and by the death of two men acquit the Spartans from the  
 “ guilt they had contracted.”

CXXXVII. However, after the Lacedæmonians had  
 offered this satisfaction, the anger of Talthybius ceased for  
 that time, though Sperthies and Bulis returned safe to Sparta.  
 But after many years, and during the war between the Pello-  
 ponnesians and the Athenians, the Lacedæmonians say, that  
 the wrath of Talthybius broke out again, in a manner which  
 to me appears one of the most wonderful things I am ac-  
 quainted with<sup>e</sup>. For that the anger of Talthybius descended  
 on those who were sent, and did not cease until accomplished,

<sup>b</sup> That is exert ourselves to the utmost  
 in defence of liberty ; fighting with the  
 spear being at a greater distance, and  
 less furious than fighting in close combat  
 with the battle-axe, the wounds inflicted  
 by which would be more severe.

<sup>c</sup> This will naturally call to mind the  
 conduct of Lord Amherst in his Embassy  
 to China.

<sup>d</sup> Λέγουσι might appear to be in the  
 third person plural, were not σφι added,  
 which shews that it is the dative of the  
 participle, governed by the verb ἔφη,  
 which follows in line 12. where, because  
 the sentence is interrupted by the ad-  
 dress of the ambassadors, the same da-

tive λέγουσι is repeated with the particle  
 δέ, as is usual with our Author : so in ch.  
 141. line 7. 10. Therefore in order that  
 this connexion might be more apparent,  
 so large a stop ought not to be put after  
 τίςονρας in line 10. nor λέγουσι be be-  
 gun with a large Λ. Schweigh.

<sup>e</sup> Ἐν τοῖσι θεύτατον has the same  
 force as ἐν τοῖσι θεύτατον (i. e. θεωρά-  
 τως) γενομένοις. See Matthiæ's Greek  
 Grammar, sect. 289. Larcher follows  
 the alterations of Valckenaer and De  
 Pauw, and translates this, “ Je ne trouve  
 en cet événement rien de divin. See his  
 note.



is just and natural; but that it should fall on the sons of those very men, who went up to the king on account of that wrath, makes it evident to me that it was the work of the divinity. For Nicolaus the son of Bulis, and Aneristus the son of Sperthies, (who, with a manned merchant vessel<sup>f</sup>, had captured some Tiryinthian fishermen,) being sent on a message to Asia by the Lacedæmonians, were betrayed in their passage by Sitalces<sup>g</sup> the son of Teres, king of Thrace, and Nymphodorus the son of Pytheus of Abdera, were taken near Bisanthe in the Hellespont, and carried to Attica, and put to death by the Athenians, with Aristestas<sup>h</sup> the son of Adimantus, a Corinthian. But these things happened many years after the expedition of Xerxes<sup>i</sup>.

**CXXXVIII.** To return now to my former narration: this war was coloured over with the pretence of attacking Athens, but was really directed against all Greece. Yet the Greeks, who had long heard of the preparations made by Xerxes, were not all affected in the same manner. For those who had presented him with earth and water, felt confident that they should not suffer any kind of damage from the Barbarians; but those who had refused to pay that acknowledgment, were under terrible apprehensions, because all Greece was not able to furnish a sufficient number of ships to fight the enemy; and many inclining to favour the Medes<sup>k</sup>, were not willing to engage in the war.

**CXXXIX.** And here I feel necessitated to declare my opinion<sup>l</sup>, although it may excite the envy of most men, yet, in the way, it appears true, I will not check myself. If the Athenians, terrified with the impending danger, had abandoned their country; or continuing at home, had surrendered to Xerxes, no other people would have ventured to resist him by sea. If

<sup>f</sup> Larcher approves of the conjecture of De Pauw, who reads, ὃς εἶλε ἀλίας τοὺς ἐκ Τίρυνθος ὀλκάδι καταπλῶσαντας πληρεῖ Ἀνδρίων.

Thucydides gives a full account of this circumstance; see book ii. ch. 67. He says, that the Lacedæmonians in general had put to death the Athenian merchants and their allies, whom they found in the ships of burden sailing about the Peloponnese.

<sup>g</sup> Thucydides relates the connexion of the Athenians with Sitalces; see book ii. ch. 29. Sadocus the son of Sitalces was made an Athenian citizen by the interest of Nymphodorus, who was the brother-in-law of Sitalces.

<sup>h</sup> Aristestas commanded the Corinthians in the engagement before Potidæa, and defeated the Athenian wing in the se-

cond year of the eighty-sixth Olympiad; see Thucyd. i. 62. The unjust conduct of his father Adimantus towards Themistocles, and his flight from Salamis, (viii. 59. 61. 94.) contributed very much to his death. Larcher.

<sup>i</sup> In the third year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad; see Thucyd. ii. 67. and therefore fifty-two years after the expedition of Xerxes. Wesseling.

<sup>k</sup> This is in a great measure confirmed by Thucydides iii. 56. Σπάνιον ἦν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινὰ ἀρετὴν τῇ Ξέρξου δυνάμει ἀντιτάξασθαι; see also Plato de Leg. iii.

<sup>l</sup> This testimony in favour of Athens appears upon the whole not less true than honourable. Mitford's Greece, ch. viii. sect. 2.

then no one had opposed him in that way, the following things must at any rate have occurred on land. For though the Peloponnesians had fortified the isthmus with many walls<sup>m</sup>, yet the Lacedæmonians, after they had seen their allies dispossessed of their cities by the enemy's fleet, and constrained by necessity to abandon the confederacy, would inevitably have been left alone to sustain the weight of the war: and had they been thus left alone, they would have displayed noble deeds and died nobly. They would either thus have suffered or would before this have made terms with Xerxes, when they saw all the other Greeks also supporting the Medes. And thus in both cases Greece must have been reduced under the Persian power; for I cannot yet learn, of what advantage the wall upon the isthmus would have proved, if the king had been master of the sea. To say, therefore, that the Athenians were the deliverers of Greece, is no deviation from the truth. They could have cast the balance which side soever they had taken. But having chosen that Greece should survive with freedom, these were the people who awakened all those Greeks who had not joined with the Medes; and I should say next to the Gods, repulsed the king. They would not be persuaded to abandon Greece, by the terrible menaces of the Delphian oracle; but they stood firm and determined to sustain all the efforts of the invader.

CXL. For the Athenians had sent deputies to Delphi in order to consult the God, and when these deputies had performed the usual ceremonies, they sat down in the sanctuary, and received this answer from the Pythian, whose name was Aristonica.

Fly to the farthest regions of the earth,  
 Unhappy men! why sit ye here so long;  
 Fly from th' encircled city's lofty tow'rs,  
 For neither head nor feet shall firm remain,  
 But total ruin shall destroy the whole.  
 A fiery Mars a Syrian car shall drive  
 And many towers, not thine alone, consign  
 To fire's devouring jaws; the Gods now stand  
 Trembling with terror for their lofty shrines:  
 Great drops of sweat and blood flow from their heads  
 And give sad presage of impending ills.  
 Depart; and be prepared to bear your fate<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> Literally, many tunics of walls. Hence the expression, Τὸ τεῖχος ἱμάτιον πόλεως. Eustath. ad Homer. p. 379.

<sup>n</sup> Κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίδνατε θυμὸν. Valla has translated this, *malis effundite mentem*; but this seems more obscure than the Greek. Larcher renders it, *Armez vous de courage contre tant de maux*. Henry Stephens' Thesaur. t. iii. p. 814. says, "Perhaps the Pythian by these words advises them to examine on all

"sides in what way they might meet the "impending ills." Since, however, ἐπικίδνημι properly signifies *inspergo*, it has put me in mind of the healing powder which is scattered into wounds; and I conceive that the oracle advises them to apply their courage to the ills, *spargite animi robur super mala*; or as Larcher has interpreted it, *his malis opponite animi robur*. Schweigh.



CXLI. The deputies of the Athenians, when they heard this answer, were very much afflicted; and as they were giving themselves up as lost on account of the predicted misfortune, Timon the son of Androbulus, a man of principal authority in Delphi, counselled them to return and consult the oracle again in the humblest manner, with olive-branches in their hands. The Athenians were easily persuaded to follow his advice; and returning accordingly, addressed the God in these words: “O king, vouchsafe to give us a more favourable answer concerning our country, and shew some regard to these branches which we hold in our hands; otherwise we will never depart from thy sanctuary, but will remain here till we die.” After which prayer the priestess gave a second answer<sup>o</sup> in these terms.

Pallas in vain has us'd her utmost art  
To pacify the wrath of angry Jove;  
So that my present answer must again  
Of almost Adamantine firmness<sup>p</sup> be.  
Yet for Minerva's sake the God will give  
A safe protection under walls of wood  
To all that lies contain'd within the bounds  
Of Cecrops, or Cithæron's sacred hills.  
These, these alone impregnable shall prove.  
But never stay to fight the dreadful troops  
Of horse and foot, advancing thro' the plains.  
If e'er you see them, save yourselves by flight;  
Some future day resistance will be safe.  
Thou, god-like Salamis, shalt see the sons  
Of many women perish on thy isle;  
Be Ceres<sup>q</sup> scatter'd or be gather'd in.

CXLII. The Athenians, rightly judging this answer to be more moderate than the former, wrote down the words, and departed for Athens: where, when they were arrived, and had acquainted the people with all that had passed, many different opinions arose about the meaning of the oracle; but these two were most opposed to one another. Some of the old men thought the God had declared, that the Acropolis should remain safe, because that fortress had been formerly encompassed with a palisade; they therefore conjectured that this was meant by the wooden wall. Others, on the other hand said, that the God alluded to their ships, and therefore advised, that, omitting all other designs, they would apply them-

<sup>o</sup> This oracle was the production of Themistocles; “This great man,” says Plutarch, (in Themist. p. 116.) “despairing of persuading the people by human reasons, had recourse to a machine, as in Tragedies, and made use of oracles and prodigies.” These prodigies were the disappearing of the serpent, &c. see

book viii. 61. The oracles were those concerning Salamis, &c. *Larcher.*

<sup>p</sup> Ἀδάμαντι πελάσας, *adamanti appropinquare faciens hoc verbum, i. e. adamanti simile reddens, adamantis in modum illud firmans. Schweigh.*

<sup>q</sup> That is in sowing time or harvest.

selves to prepare a fleet: nevertheless this opinion seemed to be overthrown by the last verses pronounced by the Pythian:

Thou, god-like Salamis, shalt see the sons  
Of many women perish on thy isle;  
Be Ceres scatter'd or be gather'd in.

These lines, I say, confounded the sentiment of those, who said that ships could only be meant by walls of wood: and the interpreters of oracles declared themselves of opinion, that their fleet should be defeated upon the coast of Salamis, if they prepared for a naval engagement.

CXLIII. There was a certain Athenian who had lately raised himself to the first rank, whose name was Themistocles, but he was commonly called the son of Neocles; this man maintained, that the interpreters had not rightly understood the sense of the oracle; because if the prediction had contained such a meaning, the God would certainly not have used so mild an expression, and in his answer would have inserted the *unhappy Salamis*, instead of the *god-like Salamis*, had the inhabitants of that place been destined to perish on its shores; and therefore that all those, who would judge rightly, ought to conclude, that the oracle was not intended against the Athenians, but against their enemies. For this reason he advised them to prepare for a naval engagement, as their ships were really *the walls of wood*. When Themistocles thus declared his opinion, the Athenians considered it preferable to that of the interpreters, who dissuaded them from making any preparations for the sea, and in short exhorted them not to resist the enemy at all, but to abandon Attica, and settle in another country.

CXLIV. Before this advice, Themistocles had delivered another opinion, which, very opportunely for the present conjuncture, had prevailed. For when the Athenians, finding their treasury enriched by the profits they received from the mines of Laurium, had resolved to make a dividend of ten drachmas to every citizen not under age; they were diverted from that division by Themistocles, who persuaded them to lay out the money in building two hundred ships, to be employed, he said, in the war with the Æginetæ<sup>r</sup>. One may justly say, that war saved Greece, by necessitating the Athenians to apply themselves to maritime affairs. And though the ships I mentioned were not applied to the purpose for which they were built, yet they were ready most opportunely for Greece. These therefore were already built, and it was

<sup>r</sup> Themistocles seems to have used the war with the Æginetæ as a pretext, but also to have had an eye to the empire of

the sea, and the return of the Persians, with a more formidable armament than they had at Marathon. *Larcher.*



only necessary to construct a farther reinforcement. Which having well considered, the Athenians by common consent, and in obedience to the oracle, resolved, that all who were able to bear arms should go on board their ships; and with such of the Greeks as would join them, wait the approach of the enemy. Such were the oracles delivered to the Athenians.

CXLV. When those Greeks, who had the safety of Greece at heart, met together<sup>s</sup>; they entered into mutual engagements of fidelity to one another, and agreed, before all other things, to reconcile all former enmities and differences. For divers wars were then actually on foot<sup>t</sup>, though none so considerable as that of the Athenians against the Æginetæ. After this consultation, being informed of the king's arrival at Sardis with his army, they determined to send spies into Asia, in order to discover the true state of his affairs; and to dispatch others to Argos, to engage the Argives in an alliance against the Persians. They also resolved to send an embassy to Gelon the son of Dinomenes, the Sicilian, because they had heard, that his power was great, and his forces much superior<sup>u</sup> to any of the Grecians. With the same intention they agreed to send messengers to the Corcyræans and Cretans, in order that, as far as might be, the whole body of the Grecians might be united, and unanimously concur in resisting the dangers which threatened all alike.

CXLVI. Having taken these resolutions, and laid aside their mutual animosities, they first sent three spies into Asia, who arriving at Sardis, and endeavouring to get intelligence of the king's forces, were discovered, and after they had been examined by torture by the generals of the army, were led out to execution. But when Xerxes heard of this proceeding, he disapproved of the opinion of his generals, and immediately sent some of his guards, with orders to bring them to him, if they should find them yet alive. The guards obeyed; and finding the men yet living, brought them into the king's presence, who when he had enquired of them the cause of their coming, commanded his guards to lead them round<sup>x</sup>, and to

<sup>s</sup> At the isthmus. See ch. 172.

<sup>t</sup> ἔγκεχρημένοι. Schweighæuser, in his Lexicon, derives this from ἐγγεῖσθαι which is used concerning that which is attempted, taken in hand, &c. the regular perfect part. pass. of which would be ἐγκεχειρημένος, which by syncope would form ἐγκεχρημένος. See his Lexicon.

<sup>u</sup> On the Greek phrase which is very similar to οὐδὲς ὄστις οὐ, and the Latin *nemo non*; see Hermann's notes on Viger.

29. Schweighæuser.

<sup>x</sup> A similar conduct was pursued by Canis Fabricius, with regard to the spies of Pyrrhus. *Beloe*.

In justice to Xerxes it ought not to be forgotten that he stands first on record for this treatment, generous at least, if we refuse to call it magnanimous, of enemies, whose lives were forfeited by the law of nations of all ages. Mitford's *Greece*, ch. viii. 2.

shew them all his forces, both of horse and foot, and afterwards, when they had seen enough, to let them go unhurt, to whatever country they should choose.

CXLVII. When he issued these orders he added this reason, that if the spies were put to death, the Greeks would neither be informed that his preparations were yet greater than fame had published, nor suffer any considerable damage by the loss of three men: whereas, if they were allowed to return to Greece, he doubted not that the Greeks, hearing of his numerous forces, would surrender their liberty to his mercy, before the expedition should take place, and by that means save them trouble in marching against them. This opinion of Xerxes was not unlike this other one. When he was at Abydos he saw certain ships laden with corn coming from the Euxine sea<sup>y</sup>, and sailing through the Hellespont, to Ægina and to Peloponnesus. And when those about him were informed that the vessels belonged to the enemy, and fixed their eyes upon the king, in expectation to receive his orders for seizing them, Xerxes asked to what part they were bound; and understanding they had corn on board for his enemies, he said, "Are not we also going to the same place "where these men are bound? And are we not obliged "among other things to carry corn with us? What hurt then "can they do us by carrying corn thither for us?" Accordingly, when the spies had seen all the king's forces, and had been dismissed, they returned to Europe.

CXLVIII. But the Greeks, who had engaged in a confederacy against the Persian, next sent an embassy to Argos. But the Argives affirm, that what concerned them occurred in the following manner; that having received early notice of the Barbarians' design against Greece, and having learnt that the Greeks would endeavour to obtain their assistance against the Persian, since they had lately lost six thousand men, who were killed by the Lacedæmonians under the conduct of Cleomenes<sup>z</sup> the son of Anaxandrides, they sent to enquire of the oracle of Delphi what measures would prove most to their advantage; and that the answer they had from the Pythian was in these terms;

By neighbours hated, by the Gods belov'd,  
Be on your guard<sup>a</sup>, and be prepar'd to strike;  
Defend the head; for that shall save the rest.

<sup>y</sup> All the Greeks, and more particularly the Athenians, carried on a considerable commerce with the coasts of the Euxine, and principally with the Chersonesus Taurica, (the Crimea). They carried thither the wines of Cos, Thasus, &c. the earthenware and merchandizes of Athens, which were not less in requi-

sition for their elegance, than those of London and Paris at the present day. In exchange for these, they carried home corn, wax, honey, wool, &c. and this commerce greatly enriched the Athenians. *Larcher.*

<sup>z</sup> See book vi. 79, 80, and 83.

<sup>a</sup> Εἶσω τὸν προβόλαιον ἔχων πεφυ-



That after they had received this answer, the ambassadors, arriving at Argos, were introduced into the senate; and when they had delivered their message, the Argives answered, that they were ready to comply on their part, and to that end would be willing to make a truce with the Lacedæmonians for thirty years, provided they might have an equal share with them in the command, though they might justly<sup>b</sup> pretend to the whole.

CXLIX. This, they say, was the answer of their senate, notwithstanding the Pythian had forbidden them to enter into any confederacy with the Grecians; and that they took care to insist upon a truce of thirty years, although fearing the consequences of the oracle, that their children might become men before the expiration of that time; but if a truce was not made, they were afraid<sup>c</sup> lest, if in addition to their present calamity, they might chance to meet with another blow in the Persian war, they might in future become subject to the Lacedæmonians. To these propositions of the senate the Spartans answered, that the question about a truce should be referred to the people; but as to the leading of the forces, they were instructed to put them in mind, that they had two kings, whereas the Argives had only one<sup>d</sup>; and that they could not consent to deprive either of their kings<sup>e</sup> of his power: yet that there was nothing to hinder the Argive king from having an equal vote with their two. Upon which the Argives said, they could no longer bear the arrogance of the Spartans<sup>f</sup>, but would rather choose to be subject to the Barbarians, than to yield at all to them; and that they ordered the ambassadors to depart out of the territories of Argos be-

λαγμένος ἦσο. Coray, in my opinion, has very rightly affirmed, that *προβόλαιος* is nothing else than *πρόβολος*, a hunting spear, or javelin; and therefore I supposed that *τὸν προβόλαιον εἶσω ἔχειν* signified *hastam intus premere, non eiserere, quietum sese tenere*. The same learned person however (from comparison of a passage in Xenophon, *Cyneget.* x. 12. and 16.) has concluded that that posture of a huntsman or soldier is alluded to, in which he is prepared either to strike or ward off a blow. *Schweigh.*

<sup>b</sup> On account of the pre-eminence of the Argives, in the time of Agamemnon, over all the other people of Greece, they deemed it just that the chief command over all the united forces of Greece should be conferred on them. *Schweigh.*

<sup>c</sup> The infinitive *ἐπιλέγεσθαι*, as the preceding ones, *ὑποκρίνασθαι* and *σπουδὴν ἔχειν*, legitimately depend on the former word *λέγουσι*. Concerning the

verb *ἐπιλέγεσθαι*, (which properly signifies *secum reputare, perpendere*,) Coray has well shewn that it frequently involves the notion of fear, and has nearly the same force as *φοβεῖσθαι*. See vii. 47, 11. 49, 21. 236, 17. *Schweighæuser.*

<sup>d</sup> I do not think that any other passage in history can be found, which says that the Argives had at this period any king. *Larcher.*

<sup>e</sup> Herodotus (v. 75.) says that a law had been passed, forbidding both their kings to be present with the army at the same time. This is at variance with the present passage. *Larcher.*

<sup>f</sup> This was doubtless the true reason which induced the Argives to present neutrality, or even to favour the Persians, because they considered it a less evil to be subject to the Barbarians than to the Lacedæmonians. They had also been ill treated on every opportunity, and especially by Cleomenes. *Valck.*

fore the setting of the sun, under the penalty of being treated as enemies.

CL. Such is the Argive account of this affair: but another report is prevalent throughout Greece. For they say, that before Xerxes began to advance with his army against Greece, he sent a herald to Argos with a message conceived in these terms: "Men of Argos, we are well informed, that Perses<sup>g</sup>, our progenitor, was son to Perseus the son of Danae, by Andromeda the daughter of Cepheus. And therefore, as we must thus derive our original from you, we ought not to lead an army against the country of our fathers, nor should you appear in arms against us to assist other men; but rather, choosing to enjoy the benefit of peace, continue quiet in your own habitations. Which if you do, and I succeed according to my expectation, no people shall have a greater part in my esteem than you." It is reported, that the Argives, when they heard this, considered it a great thing, and at first made no promise of their own accord<sup>h</sup>, or demanded any thing from the Greeks. But when the Greeks wished to take them into the confederacy, they demanded an equal share of the supreme command, although they knew the Lacedæmonians would never give them any share, that they might have a pretext for remaining quiet.

CLI. Certain Greeks also relate a story, which agrees with this conduct, and which occurred many years after<sup>i</sup>. When Callias the son of Hipponicus, with other ambassadors of the Athenians, happened to be at the Meninonian Susa on certain business, the Argives at the same time sent an embassy likewise to the same place, to inquire of Artaxerxes the son of Xerxes, whether he would observe the alliance they had with his father, or whether he accounted them his enemies. Artaxerxes answered, that he understood their ancient alliance to be still in force, and that he considered no city more friendly than Argos.

CLII. But I cannot affirm with certainty, either that Xerxes sent such a message to Argos, or that the ambassadors

<sup>g</sup> See ch. 61.

<sup>h</sup> Οὐδὲν ἐπαγγελλομένους μεταίτειν has the same force as οὐδὲν ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι καὶ οὐδὲν μεταίτειν. As the Argives had made no promises or offers concerning alliance, (for they had not attended to deliberate with the rest,) so they made no demand, required no terms, &c. In the verb παραλαμβάνειν the action is put for the desire and attempt; *adsumere* for *conari adsumere*, *invitare ad contrahendam societatem*. Schweigh.

<sup>i</sup> Artaxerxes (Diodor. Sic. xii. 4.) having learnt his great losses in Cyprus, determined to make peace with the Greeks. Artabazus and Megabyzus sent ambassadors on this subject to Athens. The conditions appeared reasonable to the Athenians, and they on their part sent ambassadors to Artaxerxes, with full powers. Callias, son of Hipponicus, was at the head of this embassy. It was in the fourth year of the eighty-second Olympiad, or B. C. 449. Larcher.



of the Argives went to Susa to continue their alliance with Artaxerxes; nor do I declare any other opinion on the subject than what the Argives themselves say. Only this I know, that if all men were to bring together their faults into one place<sup>k</sup>, in order to make an exchange with their neighbours, they would no sooner have more closely inspected those of others, than they would be most willing to return home with their own. And in this view, the conduct of the Argives was not the most base. However, I am obliged to relate what is said, though I am not obliged to believe every thing without distinction; which I desire may be considered in all the course of this history. For the Argives are likewise charged with having invited the Persian into Greece, thinking any change more tolerable, than the miserable condition, to which they had been reduced by their ill success in the war against the Lacedæmonians. This is sufficient concerning the Argives.

CLIII. Other ambassadors of the associated Greeks went to Sicily, to confer with Gelon, and more particularly Syagrus on the part of the Lacedæmonians. An ancestor of this Gelon, a citizen of Gela<sup>l</sup>, originally came from the island Telus, which lies over against Triopium, and when Gela was founded by the Lindians from Rhodes under the conduct of Antiphemus, he accompanied them. In the course of time his posterity became priests of the infernal Deities<sup>m</sup>, which dignity they enjoyed without interruption, it having been first acquired by Telines, one of their forefathers, in the following manner. For when some of the inhabitants of Gela were overcome in a sedition, and had retired to the city of Mactorius above Gela, Telines conducted them back again, without any human assistance, and having nothing but the things sacred to those gods; though, where he had these sacred things, or where he obtained them, I cannot say. However, in confidence of this authority, he brought them home to Gela, on condition, that the priesthood of the infernal Gods should continue in his descendants. I am the more astonished that so great a thing should be effected by Telines, because I conceive that such actions are not in the reach of every man, but proceed from a brave spirit and superior strength. Whereas, on the contrary, the inhabitants of Sicily say, he was effeminate and rather indolent. By these means he attained to this dignity.

CLIV. Upon the death of Cleander, the son of Pantares,

<sup>k</sup> "Solon aiebat, si in unum locum cuncti mala sua contulissent, futurum, ut propria deportare domum, quam ex communi miseriarum acervo portionem suam ferre mallent." Val. Max. vii. 2. Compare also Nos. 557 and 558. of the

Spectator.

<sup>l</sup> Gela was built 45 years after the foundation of Syracuse, which was built in the 3rd year of the fifth Olympiad, or B. C. 758.

<sup>m</sup> Ceres and Proserpine.

who was killed by Sabyllus of Gela, after he had reigned seven years, his brother Hippocrates took upon him the government of Gela: during whose reign this Gelon, who was descended from Telines the priest, together with many others, and especially Ænesidemus the son of Pataicus, was one of the guards of Hippocrates, and soon after made general of the horse on account of his valour. For in all the wars made by Hippocrates against the Callipolitæ, the Naxians, the Zancleans, the Leontines, and the Syracusans, besides divers Barbarian nations, Gelon signalized himself by the glory of his actions; and was so successful, that none of those people, except the Syracusans, escaped being enslaved by Hippocrates. But the Corinthians and Corcyræans saved the Syracusans, after they had been defeated upon the river Elorus; yet with this condition, that they should give up Camarina<sup>n</sup> to Hippocrates, which they had always possessed<sup>o</sup> to that time.

CLV. When Hippocrates had reigned as many years as his brother Cleander, he died before Hybla<sup>p</sup>, while carrying on the war against the Sicels. Upon which Gelon, under colour of defending the rights of Euclides and Cleander, the sons of Hippocrates, against their subjects, who would no longer obey, defeated the Geloans, and having excluded the young men, possessed himself of the tyranny. After this success, undertaking to restore some Syracusans, who were called Gamori<sup>q</sup>, and had been expelled by the populace, and by their own servants, called Cyllirii<sup>r</sup>, he conducted them from Casmene to Syracuse, where the populace, upon his arrival, put him into possession of the city and themselves.

CLVI. When he saw himself master of Syracuse<sup>s</sup>, he

<sup>n</sup> Camarina (Thucyd. vi. 5.) was then destroyed, but the Syracusans gave the territory belonging to that town to Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, who took a colony thither and re-established it. *Larcher*.

<sup>o</sup> The Syracusans, in fact, founded it about 135 years after the foundation of Syracuse, or B. C. 623. Thucyd. vi. 5.

<sup>p</sup> There were in Sicily three cities of this name, the great, the middle, and the little. The first lay under the south side of Mount Etna, not far to the west of Catana and N. E. of Murgentium. It has long ceased to exist. The second was also called Heræa, and was on the southern coast of Sicily, on the road from Agrigentum to Syracuse, E. of Gela, and W. of Acraë. Cluvier puts there the modern Ragusa. The little Hybla was on the eastern coast of Sicily, a little to the north of Syracuse. It is also named

Galeotis, and more frequently Megara, from which the bay, on the south of which the town stood, took the name of Megarensis Sinus. It was before the second that Hippocrates fell. *Larcher*, Table Géographique.

<sup>q</sup> The Gamori or Geomori are properly those who, being sent with the colony, divided the land amongst themselves. The nobles of Syracuse bore this title because they were descended from those Greeks who accompanied Archias of Corinth, and founded Syracuse. *Larcher*.

<sup>r</sup> *Larcher* calls them Cillicyrii. They obtained this name, because they assembled in great numbers to attack their masters (τοῖς κυρίοις.) Zenobius Adag, Centur. iv. 54.

<sup>s</sup> This important acquisition of dominion thus extraordinarily made, it became the object of Gelon to mould into one the many little states which acknow-



deemed of less consequence the government of Gela, but entrusted it to his brother Hiero; he however strengthened Syracuse, which was now every thing to him. By this means that city immediately shot up and flourished<sup>t</sup>. For in the first place he destroyed Camarina, and transferring the inhabitants to Syracuse, gave them the privilege of citizens, as he did likewise to more than one half of the Geloans. He besieged the Megareans, who had settled in Sicily, and having obliged them to surrender their city, he contented himself to remove the most wealthy of the inhabitants to Syracuse, and conferred the same privileges on them also, though they expected nothing less than death, because they had been the authors of the war against him. But he dealt otherwise with the Megarean Plebeians; and, albeit they had no part in promoting the war against him, nor expected to suffer any detriment, he sold them in Syracuse, with express condition, that they should be transported out of Sicily. He treated the Euboeans of that island in the same manner, and made the same distinction among the inhabitants out of an opinion, that a populace is a most unpleasant neighbour. And by these means Gelon became a powerful tyrant.

CLVII. When therefore the ambassadors of the Grecians arrived at Syracuse, and had obtained an audience of Gelon, they delivered their message in these terms: "The Lacedæmonians and their allies have sent us hither, to invite you to enter into their confederacy against the Barbarian king. For doubtless you have heard that a Persian intends to come to invade Greece, that he has laid a bridge over the Hellespont, and brings with him all the eastern nations of Asia, under colour indeed of making war against the Athenians, but really designing to subdue all Greece. You therefore, who have attained to so great power, and possess not the least part of Greece, since you rule Sicily, assist those, who would preserve Greece from servitude, and concur with them in maintaining the common liberty. For if all Greece assembles, a large force is collected, and we become sufficient to resist the invader. But if some of us should betray the public cause, and others refuse to give their assistance, the sound and honest part of Greece must of necessity be reduced to so small a number, that the whole would be in danger of utter ruin. For you must not expect that the Persian, if he should subdue us in war, will not proceed against you, but take every precaution. By assisting us,

ledged his authority. The circumstances of every Grecian government required that the capital should be strong, and all the dependant towns weak. Mitford's

Greece, ch. x. 1.

<sup>t</sup> Compare Homer *Iliad*, xviii. v. 56.  
 'Ο δ' ἀνέδραμεν ἔρπει ἴσος.

“ you render yourself secure. For enterprizes founded upon prudent counsels are generally attended with success.” The ambassadors thus spoke.

CLVIII. Gelon answered with vehemence; “ Men of Greece, with an overbearing proposal<sup>a</sup>, you have dared to invite me to come to your assistance against the Barbarian. And yet you yourselves, when I formerly implored your succour against the Barbarian army of the Carthaginians, and exhorted you to avenge the death of Dorieus<sup>x</sup> the son of Anaxandrides upon the Ægestæans, you refused both; and would neither help me in my necessity, nor revenge the death of Dorieus, though at the same time I offered you my assistance to restore the liberty of those ports, to which you trade with great advantage. So that as far as you are concerned, all this country is now in the power of Barbarians. But because my affairs have succeeded better, and the war is at last brought home to your own country, you now at length remember Gelon. Nevertheless, though you treated me with contempt, I shall not imitate your example. On the contrary, I am ready to supply you with two hundred galleys, twenty thousand Hoplites, two thousand horse, two thousand bowmen, two thousand slingers, and two thousand light-horse. I will likewise undertake to furnish the whole Grecian army with corn<sup>y</sup>, during all the time of the war. But I engage to perform these things, on this condition, that I may be general of the Greeks: neither will I come myself, nor send any others to Greece, except only on that condition.”

CLIX. Syagrus, when he heard this proposal, could not contain himself, but said, “ Agamemnon, the descendant of Pelops, would certainly utter a deep groan, if he heard<sup>z</sup> that the Spartans had been deprived of the supreme command by a Gelon<sup>a</sup> and by Syracusans. Forbear to mention this proposition again; and if you are willing to succour Greece, you must march under the conduct of the Lacedæmonians, or, if you disdain to obey their orders, you need not assist us.”

CLX. Gelon finding Syagrus averse to his design, made this last proposal; “ Spartan, said he, injurious language,

<sup>a</sup> Πλεονέκτης λόγος. Peculiarly attentive to your own interests, you demand of others those favours which you will not condescend to bestow on them, when they request it. Schweigh.

<sup>x</sup> See book v. ch. 45, 46.

<sup>y</sup> Sicily was afterwards called the granary of Rome.

<sup>z</sup> This is an imitation of Homer's Iliad, vii. ver. 125.

Ἦ κε μέγ' οἰμώξετε γέρον ἱππηλάτα Πηλεΐς.

<sup>a</sup> Larcher remarks that we must notice the absence of the article in the expression, ὑπὸ Γέλωνός τε καὶ Συρηκουσίων.



“ when uttered against any one, is wont to raise indignation. “ Yet, though you have used contumelious words<sup>b</sup> towards me, you have not induced me to violate decency in return. “ Nevertheless, since you so passionately affect the supreme command, I cannot forbear to tell you, that I might with more justice pretend to that honour, because I have a far greater number than you, both of ships and land forces. “ However, seeing you are so averse to the proposition I made; I shall abate something of my first pretensions. If then you choose to command the army by land, I will have the conduct of the fleet; or if you had rather command at sea, I will be general of the land forces. One of these conditions you must be contented to accept, or resolve to return home without obtaining any assistance from me.”

CLXI. When Gelon had proposed these terms<sup>c</sup>, the ambassador of the Athenians, preventing the Lacedæmonian, replied in these words: “ King of Syracuse, the Grecians have sent us to you, not to desire a general, but an army. On the other hand you tell us, you will send none of your forces unless you may be general of Greece; which you seem to affect extremely. As long as you demanded the command of all the forces of Greece, we were contented to remain silent, as we knew that the answer of the Spartan would in that particular be sufficient for us both. But because, since your exclusion from the whole command, you have thought fit to require the command at sea, we must inform you, that though the Lacedæmonians should be willing to comply with your demand, the Athenians will never consent to give you such a power. For the honour of that command belongs to us, unless the Lacedæmonians themselves will take it. If they have that intention, we shall not oppose their design, but we will never yield the pre-eminence to any other. In vain should we possess the greatest naval forces of all the Greeks, if we should suffer ourselves to be commanded by the Syracusans; we, who are Athenians, the most ancient people of Greece, and the only nation of those parts which has never changed its country<sup>d</sup>; we, I say, who are of a city, which, according to the testimony of Homer the epic poet, sent to the seige of Troy the most expe-

<sup>b</sup> The proposal of the Spartan was not unjust. It was natural that the mother city should preserve some authority over its colony; and Corinth, the founder of Syracuse, was itself subject to the Lacedæmonian general. *Larcher*.

<sup>c</sup> *Προτείνεισθαι*, in the middle voice, properly signifies in return for services

offered, to another, to demand for one's self certain privileges and rewards. *Schw*.

<sup>d</sup> See book i. ch. 56. *Μερανιάστῃς* is an Homeric word, (*Iliad*, ix. 644. and xvi. 59.) and ought not to be referred to *ἵσθημι* and *σῶω* as its theme, as is done by some, but to be derived from *ναῶ*, *ναίω*, *habito*. *Schweighæuser*.

“rienced man<sup>e</sup> of all others in the art of disposing and drawing up an army to the best advantage. After such a testimony, we need not blush at speaking so honourably of our country.”

CLXII. To this speech Gelon answered: “Athenian stranger, you seem to abound as much in men who would command, as destitute of those who should obey; and since you resolve to retain the whole power in your hands without relaxing any thing, you cannot possibly depart too quickly<sup>f</sup> out of my territories, and carry this news to Greece, that the spring is taken from its year;” intimating by these words, that his army was the most considerable of the Grecian forces, as the spring is the most excellent of the seasons: and he compared Greece, deprived of his assistance, to a year which should have no spring.

CLXIII. With this answer the ambassadors returned home from Sicily. In the mean time, Gelon, apprehending that the Grecians would not be able to resist the Barbarian, and yet determining not to go to Peloponnesus, because he must there have obeyed the Spartans, which he accounted an intolerable condition to be imposed upon a Sicilian tyrant, took another resolution. For he was no sooner informed that the Persian had passed the Hellespont, than he dispatched Cadmus the son of Scythes<sup>g</sup>, a Coan, to Delphi, with a friendly message, and three fifty-oared ships laden with great riches; enjoining him to wait the event of a battle; and if the Barbarian should conquer, to make him a present of that treasure, with earth and water for all the places in his possession; but if the Greeks should be victorious, to bring back the money to Sicily.

CLXIV. This Cadmus had formerly received from his father the sovereignty of Cos; and though his power was firmly established, and his affairs in a prosperous condition, from his love for justice, he freely surrendered the government into the hands of the Coans, and retired into Sicily; where he lived with the Samians in the city of Zancle, afterwards known by the name of Messana<sup>h</sup>. Gelon, who was not

<sup>e</sup> Mnetheus is alluded to; see Homer's Iliad, ii. 554: Wesseling.

<sup>f</sup> Οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιτε by itself would signify, *non poteris nimis cito, nimis celeriter hoc facere*: i. e. *ocysus et quam ocysime hoc fac*. See Hermann. Adnot. Viger. 204. But since *τὴν ταχίστην* is here added, it implies *etiamsi quam citissime hinc abire properaretis, tamen non nimis cito abieritis*. Schweighæuser.

<sup>g</sup> We met in book vi. ch. 24. with a

Scythes, king of Zancle. Perizoniu (Ad Ælian. Var. Hist. viii. 17.) thinks that he was the father of Cadmus. I am more inclined to think with Valckenaer, that he was the uncle of the father of Cadmus. In fact, if Cadmus had not been of the same family, it seems strange that he should have lived at Zancle, of which Scythes had been the sovereign. Larcher.

<sup>h</sup> It is by no means agreed at whe



unacquainted with these things, nor ignorant of many other proofs of his integrity, sent him to Delphi on this occasion: and in addition to his former upright acts, he left this which is not the least monument of his justice. Though master of considerable riches which Gelon had entrusted to his care, and though it was in his power to appropriate<sup>i</sup> them, yet he would not: but so soon as the Greeks had obtained the victory by sea, and Xerxes was retiring with his forces, he also returned to Sicily with the whole of the money.

CLXV. But the Sicilians, varying from some particulars of this relation, say, that Gelon, notwithstanding that he must be governed by the Lacedæmonians, would have assisted the Greeks in that conjuncture, if at the same time Terillus the son of Crinippus, who was tyrant of Hymera, and dispossessed of his government by Theron<sup>k</sup> son to Ænesidemus and king of the Agrigentines, had not brought in an army of three hundred thousand men, consisting of Phœnicians, Lybians, Iberians, Ligyans, Elisycians, Sardinians, and Cynrians, under the conduct of Amilcar the son of Hanno, king of Carthage<sup>l</sup>. To this expedition Terillus persuaded the Carthaginians, partly by the hospitality which existed between them, but principally by means of Anaxilaus the son of Critines, tyrant of Rhegium, who having given his children for hostages into the hands of Amilcar, induced him to enter Sicily<sup>m</sup>, in order to revenge the injury done to his father-in-law. For Anaxilaus had married Cydippe the daughter of Terillus. And Gelon being incapable of succouring the Greeks sent money to Delphi.

CLXVI. They add, that Gelon and Theron defeated Amil-

time this happened. Herodotus and Thucydides place it between the fourth year of the seventy-first Olympiad, and the first of the seventy-sixth. Pausanias places it in the twenty-ninth Olympiad. See Larcher's long note on this subject.

<sup>i</sup> *Karéxeuv* signifies to keep a thing for another; *karaxéssai*, to keep a thing for one's self. See Kuster on Middle Verbs. Larcher.

<sup>k</sup> The second and third of the Olympic odes of Pindar are addressed to this prince.

<sup>l</sup> This title was frequently given to the generals and the suffetes (or chief magistrates) of the Carthaginians. There are instances in Polyænus, (Stratagem i. 27.) and in Corn. Nepos. (in Hannib. vii. 4.)

Several people have expressed their surprise, that Herodotus, who has made mention of the Carthaginians in more

than one instance, and who has enumerated in book iv. ch. 168. and seq. the different nations of Lybia, has not given us any information concerning this nation, nor any description of its empire, its power and commerce. But this surprise will cease, if we consider that he could not speak of the Carthaginians in a suitable manner without deviating from his plan, and without making his readers lose sight of the subject of which he proposed to treat. Besides, the Greeks had too little relation to the Carthaginians, to take any interest in such a digression, since the Sicilians alone at that period had any connexion with that people. Larcher.

<sup>m</sup> Diodorus Sic. (xi. 1.) relates that Xerxes had made a treaty with the Carthaginians, and that in consequence of this treaty, they carried war into Sicily. Larcher.

car the Carthaginian in Sicily, on the same day" in which the Greeks obtained the victory at Salamis against the Persian. I am also informed, that Amilcar, who was a Carthaginian by his father, and of Syracuse by his mother, and chosen king of Carthage for his virtue, was never seen either living or dead, after the battle in which his army was defeated, though Gelon sought him<sup>o</sup> in all places with the utmost care and diligence.

CLXVII. The following story is also related by the Carthaginians with great probability, that whilst the Barbarians were engaged with the Grecians of Sicily in that battle, which began early in the morning, and lasted to the twilight of the evening, Amilcar continuing in the camp, sacrificed entire victims upon a large pile; and when he saw his army flying, as he happened to be pouring out libations on the victims, he threw himself into the flames, and thus, being burnt to ashes, disappeared. But whether he disappeared in the manner related by the Phœnicians, or as the fact is reported by the Carthaginians, they not only honour him with sacrifices, but have erected monuments to his memory in all the cities they have founded; though the most memorable are in Carthage. These things I have thought fit to say concerning Sicily<sup>p</sup>.

CLXVIII. The Corcyræans in this conjuncture acted in a manner very different from the professions they made. For the same ambassadors who went to Sicily, invited these also to assist them in such terms as they also used to Gelon in Sicily; the Corcyræans immediately promised to send succours, adding at the same time, "that they ought by no means to behold with indifference the ruin of Greece, for if it should be overthrown, nothing else would remain to them, but to submit to a yoke of slavery on the very next day; and that therefore they ought to exert their utmost in her defence." Such a specious answer did they make; but when they ought to have given succour, they, with different intentions, manned

<sup>n</sup> Aristotle (Poetic. 23.) agrees with our author. Diodorus Sic. (xi. 24.) relates that this battle took place on the same day as the battle of Thermopylæ, which differs a few months from our author. For a more accurate account of the battle, &c. see Diodorus, book xi. ch. 24.

The concurring testimony of ancient writers to these glorious events, which appear to have at once terminated the war, little as we are assured of any particulars, is confirmed by the irrefragable evidence of the growing greatness and lasting splendour of Syracuse and Agrigentum. Mitford's Greece, ch. x. 1.

<sup>o</sup> According to Polyænus, (Stratag. i. 27. sect. 2.) Gelon destroyed him by stratagem while sacrificing. See that author.

<sup>p</sup> Among the deficiencies of Sicilian history, nothing is so much to be regretted as the scantiness of information about the form of government established by Gelon, and the civil occurrences of his reign. It is not the number of prisoners he made, nor the buildings he erected, that excite curiosity, so much as the general prosperity of the country under his administration, and the lasting popularity of his character. Mitford's Greece, ch. x. 1.



sixty ships, and after great delays they sailed to the coast of Peloponnesus, where they anchored about Pylus and Tænarus, which belong to the Lacedæmonians. In that station they waited to see the event of the war, not imagining that the Greeks were in any possibility of prevailing; but that the Persian would obtain a decided superiority, and become master of all Greece. They therefore acted thus by a premeditated scheme, that they might say afterwards to the king, "Sir, "when the Greeks solicited us to take part in the war, we, "who have a considerable force, and should have supplied "not the least number of ships, but the greatest number, "next to the Athenians, would not be persuaded to oppose "you, nor to give you the least cause of displeasure." By which protestation they hoped to obtain more favour than the rest; and, if Xerxes had conquered, I am of opinion, they would not have been disappointed of their expectation. On the other hand, they had prepared an excuse to the Grecians, which they afterwards alleged in their defence. For when they were accused of neglecting to succour Greece, they urged, that having armed and fitted out sixty ships, they were hindered by the Etesian winds from passing the cape of Malea, and consequently that they could not reach Salamis, and that it was not from bad intentions that they were not present at the engagement. In this manner they attempted to elude<sup>a</sup> the Greeks.

**CLXIX.** When the Cretans were solicited by ambassadors, appointed for that purpose by the confederate Greeks, to join in the defence of Greece, they dispatched certain persons by common consent to inquire of the oracle at Delphi, whether they should best consult their own advantage, by giving the assistance demanded. The Pythian answered, "Fools, "you complain of all the woes which angry Minos brought "upon you, for aiding Menelaus<sup>r</sup>; because they would not "revenge the death of Minos<sup>s</sup>, who was murdered at Camicus, and yet you assisted them to revenge the rape of a woman carried off from Sparta by a Barbarian." When the Cretans had received this answer, they laid aside the thoughts of succouring Greece.

**CLXX.** Touching the fate of Minos, the report is, that having, in search of Dædalus<sup>t</sup> into Sicania, which is now

<sup>a</sup> Διακρούειν is frequently used by Demosthenes and others to signify to elude, especially by putting off, delaying, dissembling, &c. Schweighauser.

<sup>r</sup> The Cretans had sent troops to Troy under the conduct of Idomeneus and Merion. Μενέλεω τι μωρήματα are suc-

cours given to Menelaus. See note on book v. 45.

<sup>s</sup> Minos, the second of that name, and posterior to the first by about a hundred and twenty years. Larcher.

<sup>t</sup> Dædalus was an Athenian, and great-grandson of Erectheus. He was a

called Sicily, he there met with a violent death: that after some time, by divine admonition, all the people of Crete, except the Polichnitæ, and the Præsiens, undertook an expedition to Sicania with a numerous armament, and during five years besieged the city of Camicus<sup>u</sup>, which is now in the possession of the Agrigentines; that finding themselves unable to take the place, or to continue the siege, because they were oppressed by famine, they re-embarked their men, and passing by the coast of Japygia, were forced a-shore by a violent storm; that seeing their ships dashed in pieces, and all hope of returning to Crete cut off, they settled in that place, and having built the city of Hyria, took the name of Messapian Japygians, instead of that of Cretans; and instead of Islanders, became inhabitants of the continent. From Hyria they sent out several colonies, and founded other cities, which after a long interval the Tarentines endeavoured to destroy, but met with a heavy loss, so that this was the greatest slaughter<sup>\*</sup> that we have ever heard of. Not only the Tarentines themselves, but the people of Rhegium suffered on this occasion. For of the Rhegians only, who were constrained by Miccythus the son of Choerus to assist the Tarentines, three thousand men died in that expedition; but the number of Tarentines who perished on that occasion, was never known. This Miccythus was a servant of Anaxilaus, and had been left in charge of Rhegium. He is the same that was afterwards expelled from Rhegium, and who, having settled in Tegea, a city of Arcadia, dedicated a great number of statues<sup>y</sup> in Olympia.

skilful sculptor, and invented several things which contributed to the perfection of his art. He was the first who expressed the eyes and the legs separated, and the arms extended. His nephew Talos, who was his pupil, so distinguished himself, that from jealousy he killed him. For this he was condemned to death by the Senate of the Areopagus. He fled to Crete, where his skill procured him reputation and the friendship of Minos. But forfeiting this by endeavouring to gratify the passion of Pasiphæ, he fled in a ship with his son Icarus, who fell overboard, and gave his name to the sea in which he perished. Dædalus fled to Sicily, whither he was pursued by Minos, who, attended by a numerous fleet, arrived at Agrigentum, and demanded him from Cocalus the king of the country, who had received him. Cocalus invited him to a conference, promised to give up Dædalus, and, having offered him the rites of hospitality, caused him to be stifled in a hot bath. See Diodo-

rus Siculus, iv. 76.

<sup>u</sup> This town derived its name from the river of the same name, on the right bank of which it was situated, in a tract of country now called the valley of Mazara, between Agrigentum and Heraclea or Minoa. It was already destroyed in the time of Strabo, (vi. p. 419.) The river now bears the name of Fiume delle Canne, or according to D'Anville, Fiume di Platani. Larcher's Table Geograph.

<sup>\*</sup> See also Diodorus Siculus, xi. 52. who adds that Rhegium was taken on the occasion, which might have been the reason that Miccythus fled from Rhegium. And as Herodotus has mentioned his departure immediately after the defeat, it may easily be supposed that this departure was the consequence of the other event. This however does not agree with Diodorus, xi. 66.

<sup>y</sup> These, according to Pausanias, (v. 26.) were the statues of Amphitrite, of Neptune and Vesta, the works of Glaucus, a native of Argos. There were also



CLXXI. These things concerning the Rhegians and Tarentines, I thought fit to insert in this place by way of digression. As for Crete, the Præsians say, that men of other nations, and especially the Grecians, went and inhabited that deserted country: that Minos died about three generations before the Trojan war, in which the Cretans were not the most backward to avenge the injury done to Menelaus: that on this account they were afflicted at their return with famine and pestilence, which destroyed both men and cattle; and that Crete being thus depopulated again, was afterwards inhabited by the present possessors, in conjunction with such as survived those great calamities. The Pythian therefore, putting the Cretans in mind of these things, checked the desire they had to assist the Grecians.

CLXXII. The Thessalians were compelled by necessity to take part with the Medes; after they had by their conduct given sufficient evidence, that they disapproved of the intrigues<sup>2</sup> of the Aleuadaæ. For they were no sooner informed that the Persian was ready to pass into Europe, than they sent ambassadors to the isthmus; where deputies from those cities who entertained better wishes for Greece were then assembled, to consult about the safety of Greece; and when their ambassadors were arrived, they went into the assembly, and delivered their message in these words: "Men of Greece, the pass of Olympus ought to be guarded with the utmost care, in order that not only Thessaly, but all Greece, may be sheltered from the war. For our own part, we are ready with all our forces to concur in defending that important post. But we expect at the same time that you should send a considerable army to act in conjunction with us; and if you refuse to comply with our demand, be assured, we will make our peace with the Persian: for it is not just that we, who are placed so far on the frontiers of Greece, should perish alone in your defence. If you will not succour us, you cannot use compulsion; for compulsion is, by its own nature, always inferior to inability. In a word, we must endeavour to take such measures as may be most conducive to our own safety."

CLXXIII. Upon this representation of the Thessalians, the Grecians resolved to send an army by sea to secure that passage into Thessaly; and when they had assembled their forces to that end, they sailed through the Euripus, and having arrived at Alus, a city of Achaia<sup>3</sup>, they disembarked, and

Proserpine, Venus, Ganymede, Diana, Homer, Hesiod, Æsculapius and Hygeia, &c.

<sup>2</sup> See ch. vi.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Achaia of Thessaly; or Phthiotis.

having left their ships there, they marched into Thessaly, and arrived at Tempe, at the pass that leads from the lower Macedonia to that country, by the river Peneus, and between the mountains of Olympus and Ossa. There the Grecians encamped, to the number of ten thousand Hoplites, and were joined by the Thessalian cavalry. The Lacedæmonians were led by Euænetus, the son of Carenus, chosen from among the Polemarchs<sup>b</sup>, though not of the royal blood, and the Athenians marched under the conduct of Themistocles the son of Neocles. But they continued not many days in that post, before messengers arrived from Alexander of Macedonia, the son of Amyntas, and in his name advised them to retire, and not to stay in the pass and be trampled under foot by the invading army; alluding to the numbers of his men and ships. The Grecians imagining the Macedonian to be their friend, and his counsel safe, determined to follow his advice; though I am of opinion that their own fear was the most prevalent motive to induce them to do as they did. For they had heard there was another passage<sup>c</sup> leading to Thessaly, through the country of the Perrhæbi and upper Macedonia, near the city of Gonnus; and indeed the army of Xerxes afterwards entered by that way. Thus the Grecians, returning to their ships, sailed back again to the isthmus.

CLXXIV. Such was the expedition they made into Thessaly, whilst the king stayed at Abydos, preparing to pass from Asia into Europe with his army. After which, the Thesalians, finding themselves abandoned by their allies, made no farther scruple to take part with the Medes; and were so zealous, that they rendered important services to the king.

CLXXV. The Greeks having thus returned to the isthmus, consulted, in consequence of the message of Alexander, by what means and in what places they should carry on the war. The opinion which prevailed was, that they should defend the pass of Thermopylæ, for it appeared to be more

<sup>b</sup> The Polemarch (Thucyd. v. 66.) in time of war received the orders of the king, and issued them to the Lochagi, and the Lochagi to the Pentecontarchs, &c. Each Polemarch commanded a Mora. (See Xenoph. Laced. Republ. xi. 4.) In time of peace the Polemarchs presided over the Sypitia, and sent to the absent their share of the repast, if the cause of their absence was lawful. The Polemarchs had also other offices relating to war, &c. It appears, by this passage of Herodotus, that the Polemarchs were for the most part of the blood royal. *Larcher.*

<sup>c</sup> Our geographical information concerning this country, though much improved of very late years, is still very deficient. The able and indefatigable D'Anville seems to have been able to procure none of any value. His map is grossly incorrect. Some better information has been obtained through recent travellers, from which Barthelemi has profited. But since his work came out, the modern geography of the countries round the Ægean has been very superiorly given in a map compiled by De la Rochette, and published by Faden. *Mitford's Greece*, ch. viii. sect. 2. note 14.



narrow than that of Thessaly, and nearer to their own territories. For they knew nothing of the path, by which those Greeks who were taken at Thermopylæ were afterwards surprised, till they were informed of it by the Trachinians after their arrival in those straits. They accordingly resolved to defend this post, and not to suffer the Barbarian to enter Greece; and to send their fleet to Artemisium on the coast of Histiaotis, which being not far distant from Thermopylæ, might facilitate a constant communication between both.

CLXXVI. These two places are thus situate: Artemisium<sup>d</sup> as you leave the Thracian sea, gradually contracts from a wide space into a narrow frith which lies between the island of Sciathus and the continent of Magnesia. The coast of Artemisium begins at the mouth of the Eubœan strait, and has a temple dedicated to Diana. But the entrance into Greece through Trachis is, in the narrowest part, no more than fifty feet in breadth: and yet this passage is wider than those that lie before and behind Thermopylæ. For the way is so narrow near Alpeni, which is situate on the farther side of Thermopylæ, that only one carriage can pass: nor is the other wider, which lies on this side, near the city of Anthela, and the river Phoenix. Thermopylæ is bounded<sup>e</sup> on the west by an inaccessible and steep mountain, which extends to mount Œta; and on the east is the sea, and a morass. Within this passage are baths of hot water, to which the inhabitants give the name of Chytri<sup>f</sup>, and above these there is an altar consecrated to Hercules. A wall had been raised in this pass, in which there were formerly gates. This the Phocæans had formerly built, through fear of the Thessalians; who having abandoned Thesprotia, came to settle in that part of Æolia<sup>g</sup> which they now possess. By this means, and by letting in the hot waters, to render the way impassable, they defended themselves against the attempts of the Thessalians, and omitted nothing that might prevent them from making incursions into their country. But because through the length of time the greater

<sup>d</sup> Artemisium is the name for the arm of the sea which extends from Eubœa to the isle of Sciathus, as well as for all the N.N.E. coast of Eubœa. It derived its name from a temple of Diana, or, as she was called by the Greeks, Artemis. Larcher's Table Geograph.

<sup>e</sup> The description of this place is very accurate, and is not inferior to that of Livy, book xxxvi. c. 15. Wesseling.

Livy describes it thus: "Extremos ad orientem montes Ætam vocant; quorum quod altissimum est, Callidromon appellatur, in cujus valle ad Malia-

"cum sinum vergente iter est non latius quam sexaginta passus. Hæc una militaris via est, qua traduci exercitus, si non prohibeantur, possint. Ideo Pylæ, et ab aliis, quia calidæ aquæ in ipsis faucibus sunt, Thermopylæ locus appellatur, nobilis Lacedæmoniorum adversus Persas morte magis memorabili quam pugna."  
<sup>f</sup> Cauldrons.

<sup>g</sup> This was the name which Thessaly anciently bore. See Diodorus Siculus, iv. 67. and Apollodor. Biblioth. i. 7. sect. 3.

part of this wall was fallen down, the Grecians thought fit to rebuild it, and resolved in that place to repel the Barbarian from Greece, reckoning to be supplied with provisions from Alpeni, which was very near the passage.

**CLXXVII.** Accordingly these situations appeared favourable. For the Greeks having provided for every thing, and having considered that the Barbarians would neither be able to use their great numbers nor their cavalry, resolved to await the attack of the enemy in this post: and were no sooner informed that the Persian army was advanced to Pieria, than breaking up from the isthmus, the land forces marched away to Thermopylæ, and the fleet made towards Artemisium.

**CLXXVIII.** But while the Greeks were with all diligence carrying assistance to the different places to which they were ordered, the Delphians, anxious for themselves and the rest of Greece, consulted the oracle, and received for answer, "that they should address their prayers to the winds, which would be the most strenuous defenders of Greece." This admonition they presently communicated to those Greeks who were zealous for their liberty, and as they very much dreaded the Barbarians, they acquired, by giving that message, a claim for everlasting gratitude. After that, the Delphians erected an altar to the winds in Thyia, (where there is an enclosure consecrated to Thyia<sup>h</sup>, the daughter of Cephissus, from whom the place derives its name,) and appeased them with sacrifices. And these sacrifices to the winds are to this day celebrated by the Delphians, in obedience to that oracle.

**CLXXIX.** In the mean time the naval forces of Xerxes departing from Therma, detached ten of the swiftest vessels of the fleet across to the island of Scyathus, where three Grecian ships lay to watch the enemy, one of which was of Trœzene, another of Ægina, and a third of Attica. The Greeks seeing the Barbarian ships advancing, betook themselves to flight.

**CLXXX.** But the enemy chasing, soon became masters of the Trœzenian ship, which was commanded by Praxinus; and having led to the prow the handsomest of the Epibatæ, they sacrificed him, considering the handsomest Greek they had first taken a favourable omen. The name of the man was

<sup>h</sup> Larcher quotes the following from Pausanias, x. 6. "Others say that Castalius, a native of that country, had a daughter, who was named Thyia. She was a priestess of Bacchus, and first celebrated the orgies in honour of that God. From that time all who became

"frantic in honour of that God, were called Thyiades. They say also that Delphus was the son of this Thyia and Apollo; but others pretend that the mother of Delphus was Melæna, the daughter of Cephissus."



Leon<sup>1</sup>, and perhaps it was owing to his name<sup>k</sup> that he met with this fate.

CLXXXI. They met with more difficulty in taking the ship of Ægina, which was commanded by Asonides. For Pytheas the son of Ischenous, one of the Epibatæ, distinguished himself on that occasion, and continued to make resistance after the ship was taken, till he was entirely cut to pieces. At length, when he fell, as he was not dead, but still breathed, the Persians who served in the ships admiring his valour, took all possible care to preserve his life, by healing his wounds with myrrh, and binding them with bandages of the finest linen<sup>l</sup>. At their return, they shewed him with admiration to the whole army, and gave him all manner of good usage, though they treated the rest of the prisoners as slaves.

CLXXXII. Thus these two ships were taken: whilst the other, which was commanded by Phormus an Athenian, in its flight ran a-shore near the mouth of the river Peneus, the ship fell into the hands of the Barbarians, but the men saved themselves a-shore. For they had no sooner run the ship a-ground<sup>m</sup>, than they abandoned her; and taking their way through Thesaly, arrived safely in Athens. When the Greeks, who had their station at Artemisium, received the news of this loss, they fell into so great a consternation, that they removed to Chalcis, in order to defend the passage of the Euripus; and placed guards by day on the principal eminences of Eubœa.

CLXXXIII. On the other hand, the Barbarians with three of the ten ships went up to the hidden rock<sup>n</sup> called Myrmex, which lies between Sciathus and Magnesia, and erected a pillar of stone upon it, which they had carried thither. The fleet, when every obstacle had been removed, and they had waited eleven days after the king's departure from Therma, sailed towards this place. Pammon, a native of Scyros, pointed out to them this hidden rock, which was almost directly in their course. They employed a whole day in reaching Sepias in Magnesia, and the shore which lies between the city of Casthanæa and the coast of Sepias.

<sup>1</sup> This word signifies Lion.

<sup>k</sup> Literally, perhaps he may have reaped something from his name. *Ἐπαύρεσθαι*, in the sense of *fructum percipere*, is used both concerning good and bad. See Stephen. Thesaur. in Indice. *Valckenaer*.

<sup>l</sup> Larcher has a long note to prove that Byssus is cotton, as he proved at book ii. ch. 86. This opinion is disputed.

<sup>m</sup> Larcher translates *σκάφος*, *ce vaisseau demâté et privé de ses agrès*, and adds in a note, that *Ναῦς* properly signifies a

ship with its rigging, and *σκάφος* one without.

<sup>n</sup> This rock (as Larcher has observed) appears to have been scarcely, if at all, above the surface of the water: on which account it was the more necessary that it should be pointed out by one acquainted with the situation of the different places, and that a column should be erected to warn pilots of their danger. *Schweighauser*.

CLXXXIV. As far as this place, and Thermopylæ, the army had met with no misfortune, and, as I find from my calculations, at that time consisted of the following numbers. The ships that came from Asia, amounted to one thousand two hundred and seven; which originally<sup>o</sup> had on board two hundred forty-one thousand four hundred men, of various nations; allowing two hundred to each ship, besides thirty Persians, Medes, and Sacæ, who, computed together, made up thirty-six thousand two hundred and ten men more. To these numbers, I must add those that were on board the lesser vessels, which, as I have already said<sup>p</sup>, amounted to three thousand; and accounting eighty men as the average number for each, they will be found to have been two hundred and forty thousand. So that the whole naval force that arrived from Asia was composed of five hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. The land army consisted of seventeen hundred thousand foot, and fourscore thousand horse; besides the Arabians who drove the camels, and the Libyans in chariots; who, as I conjecture, might amount to about twenty thousand more. In a word, the number of these forces that were levied in Asia, and employed either in the fleet or by land, was two millions three hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men; not including their train of servants, nor those who were on board the ships that carried provisions.

CLXXXV. To these must be added, the forces that were raised in Europe; the number of which I can only give from supposition. The Grecians of Thrace and the islands adjacent, furnished one hundred and twenty ships, which had on board twenty-four thousand men. The Thracians, the Pæonians, the Eordis, the Bottiæans<sup>q</sup>, the Chalcidian race, the Brygi, the Pierians, the Macedonians, the Perrhæbi, the Ænians, the Dolopians, the Magnesians, and the Achæans, together with those who inhabit the maritime parts of Thrace, sent such a number of land forces, as, in my opinion, were not less than

<sup>o</sup> He means the complement furnished by the different nations of Asia, without reckoning the Persians, Medes, and Sacæ, in order to distinguish them from the troops levied in Europe in the countries through which the king passed. *Larcher.*

<sup>p</sup> Ch. xcvi—fin.

<sup>q</sup> The Bottiæans were of Athenian origin, and, according to Aristotle, (Plutarch in Theseo, pag. 6.) descended from those children, whom the Athenians sent to Minos in Crete by way of tribute. These children grew old in that island,

and gained their livelihood by manual labour. The Cretans, wishing to fulfil some vow, sent to Delphi the first-fruits of their citizens, to whom they added these descendants of the Athenians. As they could not subsist there, they went to Italy, and established themselves in the neighbourhood of Japygia: from thence they passed into Thrace, and obtained the name of Bottiæans. From this circumstance, their daughters in an annual sacrifice sing, *Let us go to Athens.* *Larcher.*



three hundred thousand. So that if we add these myriads to those that were levied in Asia, we shall find in all, two millions six hundred forty one thousand six hundred and ten fighting men.

CLXXXVI. Nevertheless, though the number of fighting men was so prodigiously great, I am persuaded that the servants, with those on board the store ships and other vessels which accompanied the fleet were not less, but, I believe, more numerous. But supposing them only equal in number, and not more nor less than the military part, it follows that Xerxes the son of Darius led five millions two hundred fourscore and three thousand two hundred and twenty men<sup>r</sup>, to Sepias and to Thermopylæ.

CLXXXVII. Such was the number of this army. But the women that served for concubines, and makers of bread, and eunuchs, the draught-horses, and other beasts of burthen, with the Indian dogs that followed the forces, were so many, that no man can affirm any thing with certainty touching their numbers. Therefore I am not astonished, if the streams of some rivers proved insufficient for this multitude; but rather, how so many myriads were supplied with provisions. For according to my calculations, I find that allowing only a choenix of wheat by day to each man, the total will amount to one hundred and ten thousand three hundred and forty medimni<sup>s</sup>,

<sup>r</sup> This sum is exactly made up by the several numbers mentioned: for	
1207×200 (see lin. 2. c. 184.) . . . . .	= 241,400
1207×30 (lin. 8 and seq.) . . . . .	= 36,210
3000×80 (lin. 12 and seq.) . . . . .	= 240,000

Whence is formed the number of the naval forces (lin. 16 and seq.)	517,610
To these add the number of foot soldiers (lin. 20. compare also 60.)	1,700,000
Number of Cavalry (lin. 21. compare c. 87.) . . . . .	80,000
Of those who rode on Camels and in Chariots (ibid.) . . . . .	20,000

Which gives the number of forces brought over from Asia . . . .	2,317,610
Add the naval forces supplied by Thrace and the neighbouring islands 120×200 (lin. 1. c. 185.) . . . . .	24,000
The land forces from the same places, (lin. 6. c. 185.) . . . .	300,000

And we have the number of fighting men and sailors (l. xiv. c. 185.) 2,641,610  
This number doubled gives 5,283,220, which is given at the end of ch. 186.—*Schweighauser*.

<sup>s</sup> There were 48 choenices to one medimnus. Herodotus therefore has made some slight mistake in his calculations; for 110,067 medimni, and 4 choenices would be required for 5,283,220 men, at the rate of one choenix to each man, as is evident from the following scheme:

48' / 5,283,220 (110067
48
48
48
322
288
340
336
4

consumed every day ; without including the food of the women, the eunuchs, the cattle, and the dogs. But of all this prodigious number, no man, either for stature or beauty, seemed more worthy to command than Xerxes himself.

CLXXXVIII. When the fleet as I have mentioned had set sail and reached the shore of Magnesia between the city of Casthanæa and the promontory of Sepias, the foremost ships were ranged close by the land, the others lay at anchor behind. But because the shore was not very wide, they turned the heads of their ships to the sea, and anchored in eight rows in the form of a quincunx<sup>t</sup>, one behind another, and in that posture passed the night. The next morning at day-break, after a serene sky and still weather, the sea began to rise ; and a terrible storm ensued, with a violent north-east wind, which by the inhabitants of that coast is called Hellespontine<sup>u</sup>. Those who perceived the wind increasing, and were not hindered by their station, prevented the mischiefs of the tempest, and hauling them upon the shore, saved themselves and their ships. But of those who were surprised out at sea, some were driven upon those parts of Pelion called Ipni<sup>x</sup> ; others were forced a-shore ; some dashed upon the promontory of Sepias ; some stranded upon the shallows of Melibœa, and others near the city of Casthanæa ; so intolerable was the violence of the storm.

CLXXXIX. The report is, that the Atheniâns having been admonished by another oracle<sup>y</sup> to implore the assistance

Since the writer has, instead of 67, put the number 340, it is evident, I think, that he forgot to divide the latter number 340 by 48, as he ought to have done. Schweighauser.

<sup>t</sup> The word *πρόκροσσαι*, the meaning of which is by no means apparent, we have met with in book iv. ch. 152. It seems very evident that Wesseling, who with Porius translates it "*quarum proræ ponto obversæ stabant*," has not fully expressed the meaning of the word in this passage, because those which were next the shore also had their prows toward the sea. (See note on vi. 115.) Nor does the interpretation of Suidas (*πρόκροσσαι ἄλλη ἐπ' ἄλλη*) appear sufficient. For Herodotus had already expressed that idea in the words *ἄλλαι ἐπ' ἑκείνῃσι*. Wherefore that explanation appears to be most probable, by which the ancient critics interpret the *πρόκροσσαι νῆας* in Homer, viz. placed *κλιμακῆδόν* ; which in French might be translated *par échelons*, and I have translated in Latin, *in quincuncem locatas* ; yet supposing that

of the eight rows, each exterior row was less by one, or shorter than the interior, so that the fleet exhibited the appearance of a truncated equilateral triangle. After I had written the above, I discovered that Reiske had explained the word in the same way. Schweighauser.

<sup>u</sup> This wind, as it comes from the Hellespont, ought to be the N. E. But Herodotus calls it Apeliotes, which is doubtless the east. The ancients originally knew only four winds, to which afterwards eight were added, but as that appeared too intricate, they contented themselves with only four new ones. Larcher.

The accuracy in stating winds, usual with our seamen, was not common among the ancients ; nor is it at this day in the Mediterranean, where generally winds are still named from the countries whence they blow, without any very exact reference to the points of the compass.—Mitford's Greece, ch. viii. 2. note.

<sup>x</sup> i.e. Ovens.

<sup>y</sup> A different one from that mentioned in ch. cxi.



of their son-in-law, addressed themselves to Boreas<sup>2</sup>; who, according to the tradition of the Greeks, married Orithya, a woman of Attica, and daughter to Erechtheus. On account of this marriage, they say, the Athenians conjectured that Boreas was their son-in-law, and therefore, while they lay at Chalcis in Eubœa with their fleet, when they saw the storm increasing, or even before, they offered sacrifices to Boreas and Orithya, invoking their aid, and praying that they would destroy the Barbarian ships, as they had done before at mount Athos<sup>a</sup>. For my own part, I cannot undertake to say that their prayers prevailed with Boreas to fall upon the Barbarians in this station; but the Athenians say, that this and the former aid they received, were both owing to Boreas, and therefore, at their return, they built him a temple upon the river Ilissus.

**CXC.** In this disaster the Barbarians, according to the most moderate computation, lost four hundred ships<sup>b</sup>, besides an innumerable multitude of men, and infinite riches; so that this shipwreck proved afterwards of great advantage to Aminocles the son of Cretinus, a Magnesian. For afterwards, breaking up some ground about Sepias, he found many cups and other vessels both of gold and silver, which had been driven a-shore. He also found treasures belonging to the Persians, and collected a great quantity of gold. Although by this means he became very rich, yet in other things he was unfortunate; for a calamity which destroyed his children<sup>c</sup> afflicted him.

**CXCI.** The store-ships and other vessels cast away in the storm were so many, that the commanders, fearing to be attacked by the Thessalians after this disaster, fortified themselves with a rampart of a considerable height, composed of the broken pieces of the wreck. Three whole days the tem-

<sup>2</sup> Astræus had by Aurora four sons, (Hesiod. Theog. v. 378.) Argestes, Zephyrus, Boreas and Notus. Some have taken Boreas for a wind, others for a prince of Thrace. This Boreas went from Thrace to Attica, from whence he carried off Orithya, the daughter of Erechtheus, 6th king of Athens. He took her to Thrace and married her. By this marriage he became the son-in-law of Erechtheus, and the Athenians considered him their ally and son-in-law. *Larcher.*

Those indeed who know the power of whistling, or of an egg-shell, upon the minds of English seamen at this day, may imagine what the encouragement of the Delphian oracle to expect assistance from Boreas and their princess Orithya might do among the Athenians. Mit-

ford's Greece, ch. viii. 2.

<sup>a</sup> See book vi. ch. 44. 95. and book vii. ch. 21.

<sup>b</sup> Diodorus Sic. (xi. 12.) gives double the number.

<sup>c</sup> The expression in Herodotus is ambiguous. Plutarch (De Herodot. Malign. p. 871.) makes it signify that Ameinocles killed his children. But Palmerius (Exercit. in Græc. Auctor. p. 37.) has endeavoured to shew that the word *παῖδες* is to be referred merely to *συμφορῇ*: his opinion is, however, opposed by Reiske and Schweighauser; the latter of whom compares book i. 41, 3. with i. 35, 2, 9. and iii. 50, 2. with iii. 52, 15. Larcher is of the same opinion as Palmerius.

pest continued; but on the fourth, after the magi had immolated victims, and endeavoured to charm the winds by enchantments, and had sacrificed to Thetis and to the Nereids, they laid the storm; or perhaps the wind fell of itself. They sacrificed to Thetis, because they had learnt from the Ionians, that Thetis was taken away by Peleus out of this country, and that all the coast of Sepias is dedicated<sup>d</sup> to her, and to the rest of the Nereids. Thus the tempest ceased on the fourth day.

**CXCII.** The Hemeosci ran down from the heights of Eubœa on the second day after the rising of the storm, and acquainted the Greeks with what had occurred with regard to the shipwreck. Which when they had heard, they poured out a libation and offered vows to Neptune the deliverer, and immediately set sail for Artemisium; hoping that there would be only a few of the enemy's ships to oppose them. Thus arriving a second time at Artemisium, they came to an anchor; and ever since, even to this day, have given to Neptune the surname of the Deliverer.

**CXCIII.** On the other hand, the Barbarians, when the wind had ceased and the sea became calm, launched their ships and sailed along the shore of the continent; and having doubled the promontory of Magnesia, stood directly into the bay leading to Pagasæ. It is reported, that in one part of the country adjacent to this bay, Hercules was abandoned by Jason and his companions, whilst he had been sent on shore from the Argo to get water when they were sailing to Aia in Colchis, for the golden fleece; for when they had got water they intended to sail out into the open sea: from this circumstance the name of Aphetæ<sup>e</sup> was given to the place. Into that station the Persian fleet retired.

**CXCIV.** But fifteen of their ships, which put to sea some time after the rest, somehow perceived the Greeks about Artemisium, and thinking they were friends, fell in among their enemies. The Barbarians were commanded by Sandoces the son of Thaumasius, governor of Cyme, an Æolian city. He had been formerly condemned by Darius to be crucified, for taking a bribe to pronounce an unjust sentence, when he was one of the royal judges. But whilst he was actually hanging on the cross, the king, considering with himself that

<sup>d</sup> This coast was dedicated to Thetis, because that Goddess, desirous of eluding the pursuit of Peleus, changed herself in this place into a cuttle-fish, which the Greeks call *Σηρία*. This fable gave the name of Sepias to the coast and promontory. *Larcher*.

<sup>e</sup> Aphetæ signifies the place from

whence we depart, and is derived from *ἀφίημι*. Opinions are divided concerning the place where Hercules was left. Apollonius Rhodius (i. ver. 23.) says, that it was Cios in Mysia; Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, it was Colchis, &c. *Larcher*.



the services he had done to his family were greater than his crime, and that his condemnation was rather the effect of passion than of prudence, ordered him to be set at liberty. In this manner he escaped the punishment, to which he had been condemned by Darius; but now, falling in among the Grecians, he found no way to escape a second time. For when they saw him making towards them, they presently perceived the mistake, and advancing to meet him, soon made themselves masters of all the ships.

CXCV. In one of these, Aridolis, tyrant of Alabandus in Caria, was taken; and in another, Penthylus the son of Demonous, commander of the Paphians. He had twelve ships when he sailed from Paphos; but having lost eleven in the storm, he was taken at Artemisium, with only one remaining of that number. When the Grecians had examined the prisoners, and made inquiry into such things as they desired to know concerning the forces of Xerxes, they sent them away to the isthmus of Corinth.

CXCVI. Thus then the Barbarian fleet, except these fifteen ships, which were under the conduct of Sandoces, arrived safe at Aphetæ. In the mean time Xerxes with the land forces marched through Thessaly and Achaia, and entered on the third day into the territories of the Melians. In Thessaly he made trial of his cavalry against those of that country, which he had heard was the best of all Greece; and the Grecian cavalry proved very inferior. Of all the rivers of Thessaly, only the Onochonus had not a sufficient quantity of water for the use of the army; whereas of the rivers of Achaia, even the Apidanus, which is the greatest, scarcely sufficed.

CXCVII. When Xerxes arrived at Alos in Achaia, his guides, who were always ready to inform him of every thing remarkable, gave him an account of the tradition of the country, concerning the place dedicated to the Laphystian Jupiter<sup>f</sup>; and how Athamas the son of Æolus conspired with Ino to take away the life of Phryxus. They told him, that the Achæans, to punish his descendants, decreed, by the counsel

<sup>f</sup> It was to this God that Phryxus sacrificed the ram on which he was saved, and even to this day, says the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, (Ad Argon. ii.) one of the descendants of Phryxus enters into the Prytaneum according to law, and offers sacrifices to this God. This place consecrated to the Laphystian Jupiter was in Achaia or Phthiotis. Twenty stades from Coronea was mount Laphystius, where was a mound dedicated to the Laphystian Jupiter. (Pausan. ix. 34.) There is still seen in this place a statue

of this God. Phryxus and Helle being on the point of being sacrificed in this place by Athamas, they say that Jupiter sent them a ram with a golden fleece, and that they saved themselves on this beast. Jupiter, surnamed Laphystius, according to Kuhnus, (see note on Pausan. Attic. p. 56.) was the protector of fugitives. *Λαφύσσει* is applied to one who hastens, according to Hesychius. But I am more inclined to suppose that he derived this name from the mountain where he was worshipped. *Larcher.*

of an oracle, that the eldest person of his race should be excluded from the Prytanéum, which they call *Leitum*; and that, if ever he should presume to go in, he should not go out again, except in order to be sacrificed; so that many of his posterity, when on the point of being sacrificed, fled away and went to another country: that in succeeding time, when any one of these returned, and happened to be taken in the Prytanéum, they related, how he is covered with sacred fillets, and led out in a procession and sacrificed: that the posterity of Cytissorus the son of Phryxus became liable to the same punishment; because, when the Achæians, by the advice of an oracle, were ready to expiate this guilt with the sacrifice of Athamas the son of Æolus, Cytissorus<sup>g</sup> arriving from Aia in Colchis, forced him out of their hands, and by that action drew the anger of the Gods upon his descendants. When Xerxes had heard this relation, and was come to the sacred grove, he not only abstained from entering it himself, but commanded all the army to follow his example; he shewed the same veneration for the habitation and enclosed ground belonging to the posterity of Athamas.

CXCVIII. Having done these things in Thessaly and Achaia, he passed from this country to Melis, which is situate near a bay of the sea, where the tide ebbs and flows every day. About this bay lies a plain, of a considerable breadth in one part, and very narrow in the other; enclosed by high and inaccessible mountains, which surrounding the whole country of Melis, are known by the name of the Trachinean rocks. The first city that appears in this bay, to those who come from Achaia, is Anticyra<sup>h</sup>, by which the river Sperchius, descending from the country of the Ænians, falls into the sea: and about twenty stades from thence, another river is seen, called the Dyrras; which, they say, rose up to succour Hercules when he was burning himself. At a like distance from this there is another river called the Melas.

CXCIX. Five stades distant from this river the city of Trachis is built in the most spacious part of all the plain; which in that place is two and twenty thousand plethra in breadth. In these mountains that surround the plain, a passage is open on the south side of Trachis, through which the river Asopus runs past the foot of the mountain.

CC. To the south of the Asopus is another river, not very large, called the Phoenix, which flowing from the same mountains, falls into the Asopus. The country is very narrow by the river Phoenix; the road which is constructed only admits one

<sup>g</sup> Phryxus had two sons, Cytissorus and Phrontis.

<sup>h</sup> This town, as well as that of the

same name in Phocis, was famous for its hellebore.



carriage. Thermopylæ is fifteen stades beyond that river, and between both lies the town of Anthela. The Asopus passes by this place, and afterwards falls into the sea. The country about Anthela is open, and has a temple dedicated to Ceres Amphictyonis<sup>1</sup>; in which are the seats of the Amphictyons, and the chapel of Amphictyon himself.

CCI. The Persian king encamped with his army in the plain of Trachis, in the territory of Melis, and the Greeks in the pass: which, by the inhabitants of the place and their neighbours, is called Pylæ<sup>k</sup>; and by the greater part of the Greeks Thermopylæ. Xerxes was in possession of all the countries that lie to the northward, as far as Trachis; and the Greeks of those parts of that continent which lean to the south.

CCII. The Greeks who awaited the approach of the Persian in this post, were these<sup>1</sup>. Three hundred Spartans in heavy armour; five hundred Tegeans, and the same number of Mantineans; one hundred and twenty Arcadians of Orchomenus, and one thousand more from the other parts of Arcadia; four hundred Corinthians, two hundred men from Phlius, and fourscore from Mycenæ. All these were Peloponnesians. Of the Bœotians, seven hundred Thespians, and four hundred Thebans.

CCIII. Besides this the Opuntian Locri, with all their forces, and a thousand Phocians, had arrived according to the summons that had been sent. For the Greeks had invited them to their assistance, representing by their ambassadors that they had arrived as forerunners of the others, and that the rest of the confederates might be daily expected; that the sea was sufficiently protected, being guarded by the Athenians, the Æginetæ, and others, who were appointed to the navy, and that they had nothing to fear; that the invader was not a God, but a man; and that there never was, and never would be, any mortal, who would not, during his life, meet with calamity; and that the greatest fall to the greatest; and therefore, the enemy being no more than a man, might fall off from his expectations. Persuaded by this exhortation, these people also marched to assist their allies in the country of Trachis.

<sup>1</sup> It was the meeting in autumn (Strabo, ix. p. 643.) that was held in this place. In the spring they met at Delphi. At the commencement of the meeting they offered sacrifices to Ceres, whence probably she derived the epithet of Amphictyonis. *Larcher.*

<sup>k</sup> The Gates—a term of precisely the same import in the common speech of many parts of England. Mitford's

Greece, ch. viii. sect. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias (x. 20.) makes the whole Grecian army amount to 11,200 men. Herodotus, with the exception of the Opuntian Locri, makes but 5,200. Pausanias says that the Locri amounted to 6000, but although Herodotus says they came *πavorπαρυ*, that sum appears too large.

CCIV. The nations that composed these forces, had their own particular leaders: but the general, who was in most esteem, and had the command of all, was Leonidas, a Lacedæmonian, the son of Anaxandrides, descended from Leon, Eurycratides, Anaxander, Eurycates, Polydorus, Alcamenes, Teleclus, Archelaus, Agesilaus, Doryssus, Leobotes, Echestratus, Agis, Eurysthenes, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodæus, Hyllus, and Hercules. He became king of Sparta, contrary to his own expectation.

CCV. For as he had two elder brothers, Cleomenes and Dorieus, he was far from thinking to obtain the kingdom. But after the death of Cleomenes, who left no son to succeed him, the kingdom descended to Leonidas; because Dorieus was no longer alive, but had perished before in Sicily<sup>m</sup>, and he himself was older than Cleombrotus, the youngest of all the sons of Anaxandrides, and especially as he had also married the daughter of Cleomenes. He then marched to Thermopylæ, having chosen the regular body of three hundred<sup>n</sup> Spartans, all of whom had children. In his march he took the Thebans with him, amounting to the numbers I mentioned before, and led by Leontiades the son of Eurymachus. The Thebans were the only Greeks whom Leonidas was eager to invite to accompany him, because they were very much accused of favouring the Medes: he therefore summoned them as he wished to see whether they would accompany him in this expedition, or openly renounce their alliance with the Grecians. But the Thebans, though they had different intentions<sup>o</sup>, yet sent some troops.

CCVI. The Spartans sent these men with Leonidas before the rest of their troops, in order that the confederates, seeing their diligence, might be encouraged to take the field, and that they might not also go over to the Medes, if they saw them backward; intending, as soon as they had celebrated the Carnean festival<sup>p</sup>, which was then an impediment, to leave some forces for the guard of the city, and to march immediately with their whole strength to the defence of Greece. The rest of their confederates intended to act in the same

<sup>m</sup> See book v. ch. 45, 46.

<sup>n</sup> This is the body of three hundred, which accompanied the kings in all expeditions. See Thucyd. v. 72. They were called ἱππεῖς, although they did not use horses. See the learned notes of Schweighæuser and Larcher, and note on book vi. 56.

<sup>o</sup> They were inclined towards the Persians, but assisted the Greeks. Diodorus Siculus (xi. 4.) says, that there were two

parties in Thebes, one of which sent four hundred men to Thermopylæ. *Larcher.*

<sup>p</sup> This festival was celebrated for nine days in honour of Apollo. Various reasons are given for its institution. See Potter's *Archæol. Græc.* book ii. ch. 20. Lycurgus enjoined that they should regularly celebrate this festival and that of the Hyacinthia, to check distant expeditions. See note on vi. 120. See also Thucyd. v. 75, 76.



manner themselves; for the Olympic festival<sup>a</sup> came round at this same period. As they did not therefore suppose that the engagement at Thermopylæ could so soon be decided, they dispatched some of their men as forerunners. Such then were their intentions.

CCVII. In the mean while, those Greeks who were already arrived at Thermopylæ, when the Persian advanced towards the pass, apprehending the event, began to think of retiring. All the Peloponnesians, except the Spartans, were of opinion they should march away to Peloponnesus, and defend the isthmus of Corinth. But Leonidas, perceiving the Phocians and Locrians very averse to that proposition, determined to stay there, and to dispatch messengers to the confederates, to desire them to come to their succour, because they were too few to keep off the army of the Medes.

CCVIII. During the time of these deliberations, Xerxes sent a scout on horseback, to view their numbers, and to discover how they were employed. For whilst he stayed in Thessaly, he was informed, that the Grecians had assembled a small army in that place, the leaders of which were the Lacedæmonians, and Leonidas, of the race of Hercules. The scout, when he rode up to the Grecian camp, could not see their whole force, because the wall, which they had rebuilt, covered all those who were within: so that he discovered no more of their men than those who were stationed in the front of the wall. On that day the Lacedæmonians happened to be posted without; and by that means he saw some of them performing their exercises, and others combing their hair. When he had seen these things with astonishment, and informed himself of their number, he retired at his leisure; no man pursuing, nor seeming to take any notice of him. At his return he gave an account to Xerxes of every thing he had seen.

CCIX. When the king had heard his report, he could not imagine that the Grecians were come thither, only as men prepared to die, and to destroy as many of their enemies as they could; though nothing was more true. But, as their conduct appeared to him ridiculous, he sent for Demaratus the son of Ariston, who was then in the camp; and when he was come into his presence, examined him touching each particular, shewing himself desirous to know what the Lacedæmonians were doing. "Sir," said Demaratus, "you have already heard my opinion concerning these men, when we were sitting out against Greece: and though I told you no more than I foresaw would come to pass, you laughed at

<sup>a</sup> See book viii. ch. 26.

“ me. For it is my chief aim to speak the truth in your presence, O king, and therefore now also hear it. These Spartans are advanced to this place with a resolution to fight, and are now preparing themselves to dispute our passage. For their custom is, to put their hair in order<sup>r</sup>, when they are going to expose their lives to the greatest dangers. But if you conquer these Lacedæmonians, and those they left behind in Sparta, be assured, no other nation will dare to lift up a hand against your power. For you are now to attack the most valiant men, and the best government of all Greece.” These things seeming incredible to Xerxes, he asked him again how so small a number could possibly resist his army. “ O king,” replied Demaratus, “ deal with me as with a liar, if these things do not turn out as I say.”

CCX. Demaratus by these words did not convince Xerxes; who let four days pass without any movement, as he constantly expected that they would betake themselves to flight. But on the fifth day, perceiving they were not yet withdrawn, and imputing their stay to arrogance and rashness, transported with indignation, he sent out the Medes and the Cissians, with orders to take them alive, and bring them into his presence. When the Medes rushed upon the Greeks with great impetuosity, many of them fell; to these others succeeded, and though they met with great slaughter they did not retreat: and they made it evident to every one, and not least of all to the king, that they were indeed many men, but few soldiers<sup>s</sup>. This action lasted through the whole day.

CCXI. When the Medes were thus roughly handled, they retired; and in their room Hydarnes advanced, with that body of Persians who by the king were called *Immortal*, not doubting to put an end to the dispute with ease. But when they came to close with the Grecians, they succeeded no better than the Medes: since they used spears, which were shorter than those of the Greeks; and as they fought in a narrow place, they were unable to use their numbers to advantage. The Lacedæmonians deserve ever to be remembered with honour for the way in which they fought that day; in which, among other things, they shewed how much they were superior to the enemy in military knowledge. For whenever they

<sup>r</sup> Long hair distinguished the free man from the slave: and, according to Plutarch, (in *Lycurg.* p. 53.) Lycurgus used to say that long hair added grace to the handsome and made the ugly more terrible. The Lacedæmonians did not let their hair grow until after their victory

over the Argives. See book i. ch. 82. *Larcher.*

<sup>s</sup> Cicero says of C. Marius, “ Tulit dolorem ut vir; et, ut homo, majorem ferre sine causâ necessariâ noluit.” *Tusc.* ii. 21.



retired, they made their retreat in close order: and when they found they were pursued by the Barbarians with noise and shouting, then, facing about on a sudden, they killed an inconceivable number of the Persians, with little loss on their side. So that after the enemy had in vain attempted to make themselves masters of the pass, both in separate bodies, and in every other manner, they were at last obliged to retire.

CCXII. The report is, that the king, who was spectator of this fight, leapt thrice from his throne during these attacks, being under great apprehensions for his army. The next day the Barbarians, considering how few the Grecians were in number, and supposing so many of them to be already wounded, that they would not be able to maintain a second fight, resolved to make another attempt; in which they had no better success than before. For the Greeks, having drawn up their forces in bands according to the several nations, fought in turn; excepting only the Phocians, who were sent to guard the passage of the mountain. When the Persians found nothing different from what they had seen on the preceding day, they retreated.

CCXIII. But whilst the king was doubtful what measures he should take in this state of affairs, Ephialtes<sup>1</sup>, the son of Eurydemus, a Melian, coming to him in expectation of a great reward, informed him of the path<sup>2</sup> which leads to Thermopylæ, over the mountain; and by that means caused the total destruction of those Greeks who were stationed there. Afterwards, fearing the indignation of the Lacedæmonians, he fled to Thessaly: and during his flight the Pylagoræ<sup>3</sup>, in the general assembly of the Amphictyons at Pylæ, set a price upon his head. But after some time he was killed at Anticyra by Athenades, a Trachinian; who, though he killed him for another reason, which I shall mention hereafter<sup>4</sup>, was rewarded by the Lacedæmonians.

CCXIV. Some indeed relate this story in a different man-

<sup>1</sup> Calliades and Timaphernes, (Ctesias, Pers. 24.) the leading men of Trachis, had joined Xerxes with their forces, so that the action of Ephialtes is not properly treasonable. The Greek word is *Επιύλητης*, which ought to be translated Ephialtes. Ephialtes is an Ionism. *Larcher*.

<sup>2</sup> The Greeks call a narrow path *ἄρρα-πὸς*, and this word is always used by Herodotus to signify the path which Ephialtes shewed to the Persians. Though common to all other paths, yet it afterwards became the proper name of this one. See Appian. *Histor. Syriac.* p. 158.

The pass of Thermopylæ was defended by the Greeks, and taken by the Gauls, many years after this event, by the same path, &c. See Pausan. i. 3, 4. *Larcher*.

<sup>3</sup> The term Amphictyon is the most general. It includes the Pylagoræ, the Hieromnemons, and all those who had admission into the council. See *Larcher's* note on book v. ch. 62. *Potter, Arch. Græc.* book i. ch. 16. confounds the Pylagoræ with the Amphictyons.

<sup>4</sup> This promise Herodotus has not fulfilled.

ner, and pretend, that Onates, the son of Phanagoras, a Carystian, and Corydalus of Anticyra, were the men who discovered the path to the king, and conducted the Persians by the way of the mountain. But to me this seems altogether incredible; which may be concluded in the first place by this, that when the Amphictyons set a price upon the head of Ephialtes the Trachinian<sup>2</sup>, and not upon Onates and Corydalus, they surely would have gained most accurate information on the subject. In the second place, we are certain Ephialtes ran away on this occasion. It is true, that Onates, though he was not a Melian, might be well acquainted with this path, if he had been much conversant with the country. But it was Ephialtes who conducted the Persians over the mountain, and I accuse him of this crime.

CCXV. Xerxes having heard with satisfaction what Ephialtes took upon him to perform, shewed himself extremely pleased, and ordered Hydarnes to march away immediately with the forces he commanded. In the evening<sup>a</sup> Hydarnes began to advance towards the path, by which formerly the inhabitants of Melis, who were the first discoverers, conducted the Thessalians against the Phocians, when they, having built a wall to defend the other pass, thought themselves secure from war. And from that time it had not proved of any service to the Melians.

CCXVI. This path runs thus: it begins at the river Asopus, which passes through an aperture of the mountain; (the name both of the mountain and path is Anopæa;) it extends along the back of the hills, and ends near Alpenus, the first Locrian city towards Melis, by the stone of Melampygy<sup>b</sup>, and the seats of the Cercopes<sup>c</sup>; where the way is more narrow than in any other part.

CCXVII. Along this path, thus situate, the Persians marched all night, after they had passed the river Asopus, having the mountains of Cæta on their right, and the Trachinian on their left hand; and at day-break arrived at the top of the hills; where, as I have already said, a thousand Phocians

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus, in the preceding chapter, calls him a Melian, but this amounts to the same, as Trachinia formed part of Melis. *Larcher*.

<sup>a</sup> Literally, about the lighting of candles.

<sup>b</sup> Thia, (Zenob. Adag. v. 10.) a daughter of Oceanus, had two sons, who insulted passengers. Their mother cautioned them against a certain Melampygy, (one who had black buttocks.) Hercules met them one day, and having tied their feet together, hung them over his shoulders,

with their heads downwards, and below his lion's skin. The brothers perceiving that Hercules had black buttocks, recollected their mother's caution, and laughed. Hercules, when he learnt the reason of their mirth, loosened them, and let them go. *Larcher*.

<sup>c</sup> The Cercopes were robbers. There were some at Ephesus in the time of Hercules. It is probable that the name was afterwards applied to all robbers, and there were doubtless some in mount Cæta. *Larcher*.



were posted, to secure their own country, and to guard the path. For the lower pass was guarded by those I mentioned before: and the Phocians had voluntarily undertaken to Leonidas to defend that across the mountain.

CCXVIII. The Persians were not discovered by the Phocians till they had reached the top of the hills; having been all that time concealed by the great number of oaks<sup>d</sup> which grew in the way. But then, the noise of the leaves they trod upon gave notice of their approach; which was natural, as the air was perfectly serene and quiet. Upon this alarm the Phocians sprung up, and began to put on their arms, when immediately the Barbarians appeared; and when they saw men putting on their armour, they were astonished; for, expecting to find nothing to oppose them, they fell in with an army. Hydarnes fearing the Phocians might be Lacedæmonians, demanded of Ephialtes of what nation the enemy was; and being informed who they were, he drew up the Persians in order of battle. The Phocians, finding themselves galled by the great numbers of darts, which the Persians threw incessantly among them, retired with precipitation to the highest part of the mountain; and supposing that this enterprize was formed expressly against them<sup>e</sup>, prepared to die gallantly. But the Persians, with Ephialtes and Hydarnes, paid no regard to the Phocians, but marched down from the mountain with all possible expedition.

CCXIX. The augur Megistias having inspected the sacrifices, was the first who acquainted the Greeks at Thermopylæ of the death that would befall them in the morning. After which, certain deserters<sup>f</sup> arriving in the night, gave information that the Persians were passing over the mountain: and, thirdly, at day-break, the Hemeroscopi came running from the hills with the same intelligence. Upon this the Greeks held a consultation, and their opinions were divided. For some would not hear of abandoning their station, and others were of a contrary sentiment. Afterwards, when the assembly broke up, some of them departed, and dispersed to

<sup>d</sup> These mountains, according to all travellers, are now woodless. Nor has the destruction been a modern event: it is noticed by Statius, as in his time extensive in the Roman empire, and especially in Greece:

“Nusquam umbræ veteres; minor O-

“thrys, et ardua silent

“Taygeta; exuti viderunt aëra mon-

tes.

“Jam natat omne nemus: cæduntur

“robora classi.

“— Ipsum jam puppibus æquor  
“Deficit, et totos consumunt carbasa  
“ventos.”

Stat. Achill. i. 426.

Mitford's Greece, viii. 3. note 22.

<sup>e</sup> Ἀρχήν. This word taken adverbially is very common in Herodotus. It signifies absolutely, precisely, entirely. Larcher.

<sup>f</sup> Diodorus Sic. xi. 8. mentions but one.

their several cities ; but the rest prepared to stay there with Leonidas.

CCXX. Some say, that Leonidas, out of an earnest desire to preserve their lives, dismissed all those who marched away ; but that he, and the Spartans with him, could never with honour desert the post they came to defend. For my own part, I am most inclined to think, that Leonidas, observing his allies averse and unwilling to run the same hazard with him, gave them leave to retire ; but that he considered it dishonourable for himself to depart : on the other hand, if he remained there, he would acquire immortal glory, and the felicity of Sparta would not be obliterated. For the Spartans, having already consulted the Pythian touching the event of this war, had received for answer, that Sparta should be destroyed by the Barbarians, or their king should lose his life. The oracle was delivered in hexameters, to this effect :

To you who dwell in Sparta's spacious plains,  
 Either your glorious city is destroy'd  
 By Persian warriors, or your borders mourn  
 A king's destruction, of Herculean race ;  
 For neither bulls nor lions shall withstand  
 His furious charge. Jove's mighty force he wields,  
 And will not stop, till this or that shall fall.

My opinion therefore is, that Leonidas revolving these things in his mind, and being desirous to acquire glory for the Spartans alone, sent away the confederates ; and not, that those who marched away, differed in opinion, and went away in such a dishonourable manner.

CCXXI. The following is not the least proof concerning this matter. For it is certain, that Leonidas not only dismissed the others, but also Megistias, in order that he might not also perish with them. This Megistias followed the army as a prophet, and had foretold from an inspection of the victims what was about to turn out. He was a native of Acarnania, and is said to have derived his origin from Melampus<sup>g</sup>. He himself, though he was dismissed, did not depart, but sent home his only son, who had attended him on this expedition.

CCXXII. So that in truth, the allies that went away, retired by the persuasion of Leonidas : only the Thespians and the Thebans<sup>h</sup> remained with the Lacedæmonians ; the Thebans indeed unwillingly, and against their inclination, for they were detained as hostages by Leonidas ; but the Thespians volun-

<sup>g</sup> Concerning Melampus see note on book ii. 49.

<sup>h</sup> Diodorus Siculus (xi. 9.) speaks only of the Thespians. Pausanias (ii. 16.) says, that the Mycenæans sent

eighty men to Thermopylæ, who shared in this glorious action ; and in another place (x. 20.) he says, that all the allies retired before the battle, except the Thespians and Mycenæans. *Larcher.*



tarily, and, with their leader Demophilus the son of Diadromas, constantly refusing to abandon Leonidas and his Spartans, died with them in the field.

**CCXXIII.** Xerxes, after he had poured out a libation at the time of the rising of the sun, and stayed till the hour men usually meet in the public places<sup>1</sup>, began to move on with his army, as Ephialtes had advised; because the descent of the mountain is much shorter, and more free from windings, than the circuit and ascent. Upon their approach, Leonidas with the Greeks, marching out as if for certain death, now advanced into a much wider part of the defile than they had before. For till that time they used to guard the wall, and on former days they used to march out and fight in the narrowest part of the pass; but now engaging in the widest, great numbers of the Barbarians fell. For their officers standing behind the divisions with scourges, struck the soldiers, and constantly urged them forward; so that many falling into the sea were drowned, and many more were trampled under foot; and no regard was paid to those that perished. The Greeks, on their part, knowing they could not avoid death upon the arrival of those who were going round the mountain, regardless of themselves, and madly desperate, exerted their utmost efforts against the Barbarians.

**CCXXIV.** Already were most of their javelins broken, and they had begun to dispatch the Persians with their swords. In this struggle fell Leonidas, after he had done all that a brave man could do, and with him other eminent Spartans, whose names, as they had proved themselves valiant men, I enquired, as well as the rest of the three hundred. On the part of the Persians also at this time many other illustrious men were killed, and among these, Abrocomes and Hyperanthes, sons of Darius, by Phrataguna the daughter of his brother Atarnes, who was son to Hystaspes, and grandson to Arsames. When Atarnes married his daughter to Darius, he gave him all his possessions, because he had no other offspring.

**CCXXV.** These two brothers of Xerxes fell at this place while bravely fighting: and a violent struggle ensued between the Lacedæmonians and Persians for the body of Leonidas<sup>k</sup>:

<sup>1</sup> See note on book ii. ch. 173.

<sup>k</sup> "While the Lacedæmonians were taking their repast," says the author of the *Minor Parallels* attributed to Plutarch, "the Barbarians marched in a body to attack them. Leonidas seeing them approach, said to his men, Dine as if you were to sup in the palace of Pluto. He routed the Barbarians, and although pierced with pikes in many

places, penetrated to Xerxes, and snatched the diadem from his head. When he was dead, the king caused his heart to be taken out, which he found covered with hair, according to Aristides." *Larcher*.

The report of Diodorus, followed by Plutarch, Justin, and others, that Leonidas with his Spartans attacked the Persian camp by night, and penetrated to

till at last the Greeks rescued it by their valour, and four times repulsed the enemy. This was the state of things when the army with Ephialtes arrived; of which the Greeks were no sooner informed, than the battle altered<sup>l</sup>. For returning into the narrow way, and passing within the wall, they all drew together, except the Thebans, and posted themselves in close order on a rising ground; where a lion of stone<sup>m</sup> is now seen, erected for a monument to Leonidas. In this place, those who had swords remaining, defended themselves with them, the others used their hands and teeth<sup>n</sup>: but the Barbarians<sup>o</sup> overwhelmed them with missiles, some of them attacking them in front after they had overthrown the wall, and others surrounding them on all sides.

CCXXVI. The general opinion is, that though the Lacedæmonians and Thespians shewed such invincible courage, yet Dieneces the Spartan distinguished himself beyond all others: and when a Trachinian<sup>p</sup> told him, before the fight began, that the multitude of the Barbarians was so great, that when they let fly their arrows, they would hide the light of the sun; he was so far from being astonished, that in contempt of their numbers he said, "our Trachinian friend announces all sorts of advantages, if the Medes obscure the sun, we shall then fight in the shade." This and other such sayings were left as memorials by Dieneces the Lacedæmonian.

CCXXVII. After him, those who signalized themselves most among the Lacedæmonians were two brothers, Alpheus and Maron, sons of Orisiphantus; and of the Thespians, Dithyrambus the son of Harmatides.

CCXXVIII. They were all buried in the place where

the royal tent, is inconsistent with the other circumstances, whether of place or time; nor does it seem too much to say, that it is an absurd fiction. Indeed, most of the tales, the omission of which by Herodotus has so much excited the indignation of Plutarch, appear fitter for poetry or romance than history. Mitford's Greece, ch. viii. 3. note 26.

<sup>l</sup> This is what Homer calls *ἐπεαλκίης*.

<sup>m</sup> Two epigrams on this subject are preserved in the *Analecta Veter. Poet. Græc.* tom. i. pag. 132. N°. 35. and tom. ii. pag. 162. N°. 8.

The bones of Leonidas (Pausan. iii. 14) were carried to Sparta by Pausanias, forty years after his death. They were placed in a tomb opposite the Theatre, and every year a funeral oration was pronounced to his honour in this place, and games were celebrated, at which the

Spartans alone were admitted to contend for the prize. *Larcher*.

<sup>n</sup> This appeared to Longinus hyperbolic, (see his treatise *Περὶ Ὑψους*;) but it does not to me. This method of fighting was familiar to the Lacedæmonians. Cicero was witness of it himself. "Adolescentium greges Lacedæmone vidimus ipsi, incredibili contentione certantes pugnis, calcibus, anguibus, morsu denique." *Tuscul. Quæst.* v. 27. *Larcher*.

Beloe refers to the instance of a Numidian soldier, who was found in the field of Cannæ, expiring under the body of a Roman, whose head he was tearing with his teeth. See *Livy*, xxvii. 51.

<sup>o</sup> Diodorus Siculus relates this battle somewhat differently. See xi. 9 and 10.

<sup>p</sup> Cicero (*Tuscul. Disput.* i. 42.) attributes this to a Persian by mistake. *Wesseling*.



they fell; as well those who died in this action, as those who were killed before Leonidas dismissed the confederates; and a monument was erected to their memory with this inscription;

Four thousand men, from ancient Pelops' land,  
Here once against three hundred Myriads fought.

This epitaph was made for all: that which follows, for the Spartans in particular;

Stranger go tell the Spartans, that we here,  
Obedient to their sacred laws<sup>1</sup>, have fallen.

Besides these, there was another inscription for the prophet Megistias, conceived in these words;

Slain by the Medes, divine Megistias lies  
Under this stone; he saw approaching fate  
With heart undaunted; and refused to fly,  
When Sparta's leaders had resolved to die.

The Amphictyons caused them to be honoured with these inscriptions and columns, but this of Megistias was erected by Simonides<sup>r</sup> the son of Leoprope, in testimony of their mutual friendship.

CCXXIX. Some say, that Eurytus and Aristodemus, two of three hundred Lacedæmonians, being desperately afflicted with a disease of the eyes, retired to Alpeni by the permission of Leonidas: and though they both might have preserved their lives by returning to Sparta; or, refusing to return, might have died with the rest, they could not agree in either; but continued to differ in their opinions, till at last Eurytus, hearing the Persians had gone round the mountain, called for his arms, and when he had them on, ordered his servant to lead him into the midst of the combatants, where, falling in among the thickest of the enemy, he lost his life; whilst Aristodemus, wanting courage, stayed behind at Alpeni: as for the servant of Eurytus, he had no sooner conducted his master to the place where the fight was, than he left him, and ran away. Now, if Aristodemus alone had been disabled by his distemper, and in that condition had returned to Sparta; or if both had gone home together, I cannot think the Lacedæmonians would have been displeased. But one of these dying in the field, put them under a necessity of shewing their resentment against the survivor; who, when he had the same excuse as the other, refused to die.

CCXXX. Thus, some men say Aristodemus returned safe to Sparta under colour of his disease; but others pretend, that being sent with orders from the army, though he might

<sup>1</sup> The word in the original is *νόμοι*. But as the laws of Lycurgus were called *νόμοι*, I have translated it *laws*. Ci-

cero, in his Tusculans, has translated it, *Dum sanctis patriæ legibus obsequimur*.

<sup>r</sup> See note on book v. c. 102.

have arrived while the battle was going on, he would not, but lingered on the road and preserved his life; though his companion arrived in due time, and died in the field.

CCXXXI. Aristodemus, at his return, was punished with ignominy and dishonour; with dishonour, in that no Lacedæmonian would converse with him, or give him a light<sup>s</sup>; with ignominy, in that they gave him the name of Aristodemus the coward<sup>t</sup>. But he afterwards wiped off all the charge that was brought against him, at the battle of Plataea.

CCXXXII. They say also, that another of the three hundred, whose name was Pantites, having been sent on a message to Thessaly, survived this action; and when, at his return to Sparta, he was held in dishonour<sup>u</sup>, he strangled himself.

CCXXXIII. As for the Thebans and their general Leontiades, they were necessitated for some time to fight against the king's army in conjunction with the Greeks: but they no sooner saw the Persians victorious, than they abandoned the rest of their allies, as they were hastening to the hill; and with extended hands approached the Barbarians, saying, and with great truth, that they had always been partizans of the Medes; that they were among the first who presented the king with earth and water; that they came to Thermopylæ from compulsion, and were no way guilty of the loss he had sustained. By these words, which the Thessalians confirmed with their testimony, the Thebans saved their lives; but they were not however fortunate in every respect. For the Barbarians killed many of their men, as they advanced to surrender themselves; and by the command of Xerxes, branded a much greater number with the royal mark, beginning at their general Leontiades; whose son Eurymachus having afterwards surprised the city of Plataea at the head of four hundred Thebans, was killed by the Plataeans<sup>x</sup>.

CCXXXIV. Thus the Grecians fought at Thermopylæ. Upon this event, Xerxes having sent for Demaratus, began his discourse in this manner: "Demaratus," said he, "I find by the certain evidence of truth, that you are a man of integrity; for all things have happened as you foretold. Tell me now, therefore, how many the rest of the Lacedæmonians may be? And how many of them, or whether all are

<sup>s</sup> This was a common way among the Greeks of shewing their abomination for wicked and polluted persons. *Wesseling*.

See Euripides *Orest.* v. 885. where the refusing to converse with a polluted person is also mentioned; as in *Soph. Œd. Tyr.* 238. and *Æsch. Choeph.* 228. and *Eumenid.* 445.

<sup>t</sup> See book ix. ch. 70.

<sup>u</sup> He might in fact have answered Leonidas as another Spartan did on the same occasion: "I followed you to fight, and not to carry your messages." See *Plutarch. de Malign.* *Herod.* p. 866. *Larcher*.

<sup>x</sup> This was at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war. See *Thucyd.* book ii. ch. 2, 3, 4, 5.



“such as these in war?” “O king,” said Demaratus, “the Lacedæmonians are numerous, and have many cities; but I shall inform you of that which you desire to know. In Læconia is Sparta<sup>y</sup>, a city which contains, as near as may be, eight thousand men; all these are equal in valour to those who have fought in this place, and the rest of the Lacedæmonians are valiant, though not like these.” “Let me know then,” said Xerxes, “how we can conquer these men with the least trouble; for, since you have been their king, you are well acquainted with the course of their counsels.”

CCXXXV. “Sir,” replied Demaratus, “since you with confidence ask my advice, I am bound to give you the best I can. You should then send a fleet of three hundred ships to the Lacedæmonian coast. For there is an island called Cythera, lying off that shore; which Chilon, one of the wisest men of our nation, said would be more advantageous to the Spartans, if drowned in the bottom of the sea, than in the present situation; always apprehending such an enterprise, as I am about to propose: not that he foresaw the arrival of your fleet, but fearing equally every naval force<sup>z</sup>. From this island let your ships issue and alarm the Lacedæmonians; who finding themselves involved in a defensive war at home, will no longer give you cause to fear, lest they should succour the rest of Greece, while it is being taken by your land forces. In a word, when by this means you have subdued the other parts of Greece, the Lacedæmonians will be then weak and left alone. But if you act otherwise, expect the following events. There is in the Peloponnesus a narrow isthmus; in this place all the Peloponnesians being assembled in a league against you, expect more violent struggles than the past; whereas, if you put my advice in execution, not only the isthmus, but their cities also will be yours without a battle.”

CCXXXVI. When he had finished these words, Achæmenes, brother to Xerxes, and commander in chief at sea, being present at this discourse, and fearing the king might be induced to follow the counsel of Demaratus, “Sir,” said he, “I perceive you hearken to the suggestions of a man, who either envies your prosperity, or perhaps would betray your affairs. For the constant manner of the Greeks is, to envy the fortunate, and to hate their superiors. If therefore, after you have lost four hundred ships by the storm, you

<sup>y</sup> The Spartans exercised a superiority over the inhabitants of all the neighbouring cities who were called *οἱ πελοποννησίοι* or *Λακεδαιμόνιοι*. These are plainly alluded to by Demaratus. *Valckenaer*.

<sup>z</sup> This did actually come to pass in the Peloponnesian war. The Athenians possessed themselves of Cythera, and very much annoyed Lacedæmon. See *Thucyd.* iv. 53.

“should send three hundred more to hover about the coast of Peloponnesus, our enemies might fight us upon equal terms; but if our fleet be kept in a body, it becomes invincible, and the Greeks will be unable to resist. Besides, if the whole fleet accompany the land army, they will be able mutually to assist each other; whereas, if you separate your naval forces, they can be no way useful to you, nor you to them. Arrange therefore your own matters well, and resolve not to enter into a particular discussion of your enemy’s affairs; nor inquire, what they will do; where they will make a stand; or what numbers they are. They are sufficient to think about themselves, and we on our part, no less. If the Lacedæmonians dare venture a battle against the Persians, they will not cure their present wound.”

CCXXXVII. “Achæmenes,” replied Xerxes, “I approve your reasons, and will do as you advise. But I am persuaded, Demaratus gave me that counsel which he thought most advantageous to me, though at the same time your opinion is superior. For I will by no means admit that Demaratus does not wish well for my affairs, which I conclude from his former discourses, and from this fact; that a citizen indeed generally envies his fellow-citizen, if he sees him prosper, and hates him privately, and, unless he have attained to an uncommon degree of virtue, will not give him the best advice, if he ask it. But a friend bears the greatest regard for his friend in prosperity; and, if he ask his advice, always gives him the best he can<sup>a</sup>. For the future therefore I enjoin all men to abstain from such calumny concerning Demaratus, who is my guest and friend.”

CCXXXVIII. When Xerxes had said these words, he passed through the dead; and having heard that Leonidas was king and general of the Lacedæmonians, he commanded his head to be taken off, and fixed upon a pole. By which action in particular, and many other proofs, I am persuaded, that Xerxes was more highly incensed against Leonidas during his life than against any one else; for else he would not have violated the laws of humanity upon his dead body; because the Persians are accustomed to pay a greater reverence to men eminent in military virtue, than any other nation we know. However, the king’s command was executed by those to whom the order was given.

CCXXXIX. But to return to my narration. The Lacedæmonians were the first who had notice of the king’s expe-

<sup>a</sup> Συμβουλευομένου τε ἂν συμβουλέωσι τὰ ἀριστα. The difference between the active and middle verb is here very apparent, and has been unnoticed by almost

every Lexicographer except H. Stephanus. Συμβουλέω, signifies to give counsel; συμβουλεύομαι, to make another give one counsel, or to consult. Larcher.



dition against Greece; and on that occasion sending to the oracle at Delphi, received the answer I lately mentioned<sup>b</sup>. But the way, by which they had their information, deserves to be remembered. Demaratus the son of Ariston, being at that time an exile among the Medes, had, as I conjecture, and appearances support my opinion, no great kindness for the Lacedæmonians. But whether he acted in this affair by a motive of affection, or in order to insult his country, I shall leave to the conjectures of others. For when Xerxes had resolved to make war against Greece, and Demaratus, who was then in Susa, had heard of his intention, he determined to acquaint the Lacedæmonians with the design. But because he could contrive no other means, and apprehended the danger of a discovery, he fell upon this invention. He took a double tablet, and having shaved off the wax, he engraved the king's resolution on the wood; which when he had done, he melted the wax again upon it, in order that the tablet having nothing written on it, no trouble might arise, as it was carried from the guards of the way. When the tablet arrived at Sparta, the Lacedæmonians could not comprehend it; till Gorgo, the daughter of Cleomenes, and wife to Leonidas, having considered the matter with herself, bid them break up the wax, and they should find letters written on the wood. The Lacedæmonians did as she ordered; and when they had found and read the contents, sent them to the rest of the Greeks. These things are reported to have happened in this manner.

<sup>b</sup> Ch. ccxx.

# THE HISTORY OF HERODOTUS.

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## BOOK VIII.

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### URANIA.

**THE** Greeks who were assigned to the navy, were these. The Athenians furnished one hundred and twenty-seven ships<sup>a</sup>, manned by themselves, and the Plataeans, who from their zeal and courage, though inexperienced in sea affairs, went on board with them<sup>b</sup>. The Corinthians brought in forty ships; the Megareans twenty. The Chalcidians manned twenty ships borrowed of the Athenians. The people of Ægina furnished eighteen; the Sicyonians twelve; the Lacedæmonians ten; the Epidaurians eight; the Eretrians seven; the Trœzenians five; the Styreans two. The inhabitants of the isle of Ceos contributed two ships of war, with two galleys of fifty oars each; and the Opuntian Locri came to their succour with seven galleys of fifty oars.

II. These were the people who went out to Artemisium, and this was the number of ships which each nation supplied. The whole number of ships that were collected was two hundred and seventy-one, besides fifty-oared galleys. The principal command was in the hands of Eurybiades the son of

<sup>a</sup> The Athenians at Artemisium had 127 ships. They were afterwards joined by 53 more, (see ch. xiv.) which makes up the number of 180 that fought at Salamis, (see ch. xlv.) If to these are added the 20 others manned by the Chalcidians, mentioned in line 7. we shall have 200 ships, which Diodorus Sic. (xv. 78.) says, the Athenians had at Salamis. The

same number 200 is mentioned by Corn. Nepos in Themist. ch. iii. Schweigh.

<sup>b</sup> Πήρωμα generally signifies the rowers and sailors as opposed to the Epibatæ; but sometimes comprehends both, (see viii. 43. 45.) So here συνεπλήρουν refers both to rowers and those that fought. Schweighauser.



Euryclides, nominated to that dignity by the Spartans, because the confederates had declared that they would not follow the Athenians, but would break up the fleet and return home, unless they might have a Lacedæmonian for their leader.

III. For before they sent ambassadors to make an alliance in Sicily, they had debated about the expediency of entrusting the conduct of the naval forces to the Athenians. But the Athenians finding the confederates opposed to that proposal, and being extremely desirous to preserve Greece, which they knew must inevitably be destroyed, if they should split into factions for the command, yielded voluntarily, and gave a great proof of their wisdom in so doing<sup>c</sup>. For intestine dissensions are by so much more pernicious than a war carried on with unanimity, as war in general is more prejudicial than peace. This they well understood; and therefore did not resist, but yielded as long as they had need of their assistance, as they clearly demonstrated. For when they had driven out the Persian, and were now contending for his country, they used as a pretext the arrogance of Pausanias<sup>d</sup>, and deprived the Lacedæmonians of the chief command. But these things took place afterwards.

IV. But at that time, those Greeks who had gone to Artemisium, seeing a prodigious number of the enemy's ships at Aphetæ, all places filled with their forces, and the Barbarians successful beyond their expectation and opinion, in a great consternation, deliberated concerning retiring from Artemisium into the inner parts of Greece. The Eubœans hearing of this consultation, earnestly begged of Eurybiades to defer the departure of the fleet for a short time, until they could convey away to a place of safety their children and families<sup>e</sup>. But finding him inflexible, they went over to Themistocles the Athenian general, and by a present of thirty talents prevailed with him to promise, that they would stay and fight the enemy before Eubœa.

<sup>c</sup> Historians have, upon this occasion, justly applauded the moderation of the Athenian leaders, who patiently acquiesced under this decision; and, superior to little punctilio, continued with unabated zeal to prosecute the great purposes of the common cause. But the Athenian counsels were, at this time, directed by a man who could conceal unbounded desire of glory under the mask of modesty; who, with a temper as pliable as his genius was penetrating, weighing the necessities of the times, and foreseeing the opportunities of ambition, could not only accommodate himself to all seasons and circumstances, but

had skill to lead the froward populace of Athens to submit their passions to his opinion. Mitford's Greece, viii. 4. The character of Themistocles is beautifully given by Thucydides, book i. ch. 138.

<sup>d</sup> The justice of Aristides contributed not a little to induce the Greeks to transfer the chief command to the Athenians. This, however, happened three years afterwards, in the 4th year of the 75th Olympiad. See Thucyd. i. 96. Corn. Nepos in Aristid. ch. ii. and Diodorus Sic. xi. 44. 46.

<sup>e</sup> *Oikéras*. This not only means slaves, but all the family. Hesychius explains *Oikéται, οἱ κατὰ τὸν οἶκον πάντες*.

V. Themistocles caused the Greeks to stay in this manner. He imparted five talents of this money to Eurybiades, as if forsooth for himself; and having gained him over, he addressed the Corinthian commander Adimantus<sup>f</sup> the son of Ocytus; because he was now the only person who struggled against this measure, and had peremptorily declared he would leave Artemisium, and with an oath said to him, "Adimantus, you, "at least, shall not abandon us; for I will make you a greater "present than the king of the Medes would send you for "deserting the allies." When he had spoken these words, he presently sent him three talents of silver on board his ship. The commanders, being thus astonished at his presents were persuaded to stay, and he at once gratified the Eubœans, and gained considerably himself, by secretly keeping<sup>g</sup> the rest; whilst those who took part of the money thought it had been sent from Athens for that purpose.

VI. Thus the Greeks continued on the coast of Eubœa till they came to an engagement, which happened in this manner. The Barbarians arriving in the road of Aphetæ about day-break, and observing that the Greeks were at Artemisium with a small number of ships, as they had been already informed, were eager to attack them, in the hope of taking them. But they were not of opinion to attack them in front, lest the Greeks, seeing them approaching, should betake themselves to flight; and, favoured by the ensuing night, should make their escape; whereas, according to their account, not even the torch-bearer<sup>h</sup> ought to survive.

VII. For this purpose they devised the following plan: they detached two hundred ships chosen out of all their fleet; with orders to sail behind Sciathus, that they might not be seen by

<sup>f</sup> A man of honour, faithful to his duty, is only sensible to the glory which may result from it. Interest is never the spring of his actions. Adimantus, alarmed by the impending danger, wished to separate himself from the allies, but influenced by money, he remained. We must not, therefore, be surprised that a man who performed his duty only from so base a motive, should have ultimately behaved so cowardly. Such at least was the idea entertained at Athens. The rest of Greece thought differently. Simonides wrote an epitaph, which was inscribed on his tomb, saying, that "it "was by his counsels that Greece obtained the crown of liberty." See the *Analecta Veter. Poet. Gr. tom. i. p. 133. No. 41. Larcher.*

<sup>g</sup> According to Phanias of Lesbos, he gave one talent to Architeles, an Athenian. See Plutarch in Themist. p. 115. *Larcher.*

<sup>h</sup> Before trumpets were used in armies, signals were given by a torch. (See Scho-liast. Eurip. *Phœniss. v. 1386.*) Those who bore it were sacred to Mars. They advanced at the head of the armies, and in the space between let fall their torches and retired without molestation. The armies engaged, and the torch-bearer's life was always spared, because he was consecrated to Mars. Hence in a total defeat the proverb was used, *Not even the torch-bearer has escaped.* Herodotus is the first who used this expression, which afterwards became very common. *Larcher.*



the Greeks, and shape their course to the Euripus, by Caphareus and Geræstus; that by these means they might surround the enemy, the one party by going round in that way and intercepting the retreat, and themselves attacking them in front. When they had taken this resolution, they sent away the two hundred ships; and not intending to attack the Greeks that day, nor before they should see the signal agreed upon to notify the arrival of their detachment, they applied themselves to take the number of ships which remained at Aphetæ.

VIII. Whilst they were numbering their ships, there happened to be in the camp, Scyllias<sup>1</sup> of Scyone, the best diver of his time; he had saved for the Persians a great part of the treasure sunk in the shipwreck at Pelion<sup>k</sup>, and had acquired a considerable sum for himself. He had been long desirous to go over to the Grecians; but a good opportunity had not offered itself until that time. By what means he made his escape to the Grecians I cannot certainly affirm, and I wonder whether the account given of him is true. For the report is, that he plunged into the sea at Aphetæ, and rose no more till he arrived at Artemisium, having passed through the sea for a space of, as near as can be, eighty stadia. Many other things are related of this man, that have the air of falsehood; and some that are true. Yet after all, my opinion is, that he made his passage to Artemisium in a boat. At his arrival, he informed the commanders of the particulars of the shipwreck<sup>l</sup>, and of the ships that were sent round Eubœa.

IX. Which when the Grecians heard, they called a council, and after divers opinions had been proposed, came to a resolution, "that they would continue in their station all that day, and at midnight weigh anchor to advance to meet the fleet, which was sent out to prevent their escape." Afterwards, when no ships advanced towards them, they lay by till sun-set<sup>m</sup>; and then sailed of themselves against the Barbarians, in order to make a trial of their manner of fighting, and their skill in going through the diecplus<sup>n</sup>.

X. When the enemy, both officers and soldiers, saw them approaching with so few ships, they attributed their en-

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias (x. 19.) relates that his daughter Cyane dived with him at the time of the tempest, and removed the anchors which held the Persian vessels.

<sup>k</sup> See book vii. ch. 188.

<sup>l</sup> No one was better able to inform the Greeks of the events of the tempest than Scyllias, who had been employed as a diver. *Larcher*.

<sup>m</sup> *Larcher* translates *δείλην ὀψίην*, "Sur les trois heures après-midi." He affirms that this is the proper meaning, because Dion Chrysostom (de Glor. Or. 2.) says that *δείλη* has that signification, and because the Greeks, after the engagement, returned to Artemisium that night. See his note.

<sup>n</sup> See note on book vi. ch. 12.

terprize to extreme madness<sup>o</sup>; and advancing likewise on their part, doubted not but that they should easily take them. The truth is, they had great reason to expect success, since they saw that the Grecian ships were few, and their own not only far more in number, but much better sailers, and therefore, in contempt<sup>p</sup>, they encompassed them on all sides. Those of the Ionians, who retained an affection for the Greeks, and were with regret among the enemy's forces, were extremely concerned to see them surrounded in such a manner; thinking that not one of them would return; so weak did the Grecian affairs appear. Those on the other hand, who were pleased with their situation<sup>q</sup>, laboured with all their might, who should take the first Athenian ship, and receive a recompence from the king. For the Athenians were in greater esteem in both fleets than any of the other confederates.

XI. At the first signal the Greeks drew into a circle, and turned the heads of all their ships against the Barbarians. At the second signal, though crowded into a narrow compass, they commenced the combat. In a short time they got possession of thirty Barbarian ships by a direct attack<sup>r</sup> with Philaon the son of Chersis, brother to Gorges king of the Salaminians; a man highly esteemed in their army. Lycomedes the son of Æschreus, an Athenian, was the first who took a ship from the enemy, and received the prize for his valour. But night coming on put an end to the dispute, after they had fought with various success on both sides; the Greeks returning to Artemisium, and the Barbarians to Aphetæ, with different success than what they expected. In this engagement Antidorus the Lemnian was the only one among all the Greeks in the king's service who went over to the confederates; and on that account the Athenians rewarded him with lands in Salamis.

XII. This battle was fought in the midst of summer; and during all the night so prodigious a storm of rain fell, accompanied with hard thunder, breaking out from about Pelion, that the dead bodies and pieces of wreck driven to Aphetæ, rolling round the heads of their ships, impeded the blades of their oars. Which the soldiers who were on board hearing,

<sup>o</sup> Beloe compares with this Shakspeare's animated description of the French contempt of the English army previous to the battle of Agincourt.

<sup>p</sup> For the force of the verb *καταφρονεῖν*, see note, book i. ch. 59.

<sup>q</sup> The expression in the original is very common among Greek writers. It is used also by Tacitus, (Vit. Agricol. 18.) "Quibus bellum volentibus erat." See the

note of Wasse on Sallust Jug. 86. *Larcher*.

<sup>r</sup> *Κατὰ στόμα*. As in general in naval engagements they attacked the enemy by endeavouring to dart upon their sides, or sweep away their oars by the movement called *dieplus*, and frequently by darting on the stern, I suppose that in the present case they captured the enemy by a direct impact on their prows. *Schweighæuser*. See his long note.



were struck with consternation, and expected nothing but death, when they saw so many calamities succeeding one another. For before they had recovered breath, after the former tempest and shipwreck at mount Pelion, they were forced to fight a dangerous battle at sea; and before that engagement was well over, were surprised by impetuous rains and horrid thunder, with torrents of water rushing into the sea. In this terror they passed that night.

XIII. But to those, who had been ordered to sail round Eubœa, this night proved so much the more severe, as it came upon them while they were in the open sea; and thus they perished miserably<sup>a</sup>. For as they were sailing near the bay of Eubœa, called the Cœla<sup>t</sup>, the storm and rain fell upon them with such violence, that they were driven they knew not where by the force of the winds, and dashed in pieces upon the rocks. This the Gods did, to reduce the Persian fleet to an equality with that of the Grecians, or at least not to leave them so much superior in number. And thus these ships perished near the Cœla of Eubœa.

XIV. The light of the next day was welcome to the Barbarians at Aphetæ; who keeping themselves quiet in their station, were contented, after their ill success, to attempt nothing more for the present. On the other hand the Greeks received a reinforcement of fifty-three Athenian ships, which, with the news they brought, that all the Barbarians, who were sailing round Eubœa, had perished in the storms, so heightened their courage, that having waited to the same hour they chose the day before, they attacked and destroyed the squadron of the Cilicians, and returned at night to Artemisium.

XV. On the third day the commanders of the Barbarians, moved with indignation to be thus insulted by a few ships, and fearing the displeasure of Xerxes, would not stay for the Greeks to begin the battle; but encouraging their men to acquit themselves valiantly, unmoored about noon, and prepared to fight. These actions by sea happened on the same days with those by land at Thermopylæ; and the contest in both places was of the same nature. For as Leonidas and those who were with him endeavoured to defend the pass of Thermopylæ, so the naval forces fought to prevent the enemy

<sup>a</sup> Τὸ τέλος σφι ἐγένετο ἄχαρι. This expression is censured by Longinus (περὶ ὕψους. 42.) as too feeble. But this is a common mode with Herodotus of describing any thing shocking. Compare Virgil's 3rd Georgic. init.

“ Quis aut Eurysthea durum,  
“ Aut inlaudati nescit Busirides aras?”

See Heyne's note. Homer was the first who expressed himself in that way; and as his writings were the base of the education of the Greek youth, it became generally adopted. See Larcher's note, and note on book i. 41.

<sup>t</sup> Sinus Euboicus, quem *Calu* vocant, suspectus nautis. Liv. Hist. Roman. xxxi. 41. See note on book vi. ch. 10<sup>a</sup>

from entering the Euripus; the Greeks on their part encouraging one another not to suffer the Barbarians to break into Greece; and these on the other hand animating their men to destroy the Greeks, and make themselves masters of the passages.

XVI. In this view the Barbarians having drawn out their fleet, advanced towards the Grecians, who were lying quiet at Artemisium. The Barbarians having drawn up their ships in the form of a half-moon, were encircling them in order to take them; upon which the Greeks came out likewise, and engaged. The battle was fought with equal forces<sup>u</sup> on both sides. For the fleet of Xerxes, from the number of its ships, impeded itself, as the ships ran foul of one another and confounded their order; yet they continued to fight, and would not retire, because they were ashamed to be put to flight by so few. So that many of the Grecian ships perished in the action, and many men: but the loss of the Barbarians was much greater in both. After such a combat they each separated.

XVII. In this battle the Egyptians signalized their courage above the rest of the enemy's forces; and besides other memorable actions, took five Grecian ships, with all the men on board. On the part of the Greeks, the Athenians behaved themselves with the greatest valour; and among the Athenians, Clinias<sup>\*</sup> the son of Alcibiades, who fought in his own ship, which he had manned with two hundred men, maintained at his own expence.

XVIII. But after both the fleets had voluntarily separated, the Grecians, though they were in possession of the dead, and of all the wreck; yet being in a shattered condition, and especially the Athenians, whose ships were half of them damaged, took into their consideration, whether they should retire to the interior of Greece.

XIX. At the same time Themistocles having considered with himself, that if the Ionians and Carians could be detached from the Barbarians, they might be able to overcome the rest; and therefore as the Eubœans were driving their cattle down to the shore, he assembled the Grecian commanders together,

<sup>u</sup> The Latin translator has rendered this in my opinion wrong, *quâ in pugna pari Marte pugnatum est*. For the issue shews that such cannot be the meaning. The Persians, from the great number of their ships, could not perform their manœuvres in so confined a space. Their multitude consequently was of no use, and the number of *effective* combatants was therefore nearly the same on both

sides. *Larcher*.

<sup>\*</sup> This Clinias was the father of the celebrated Alcibiades. He married Dinomache the daughter of Megacles, grandson to Agariste, the daughter of Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. He fell at the battle of Coronæa. See the learned note of Valckenaer for other particulars concerning this Clinias.



and told them he had contrived a stratagem, by which he hoped to deprive the king of the best of his allies. He discovered no more for the present; only adding, that in the present state of affairs, they should kill as many of the cattle belonging to the Eubœans, as they thought fit; because their own army ought rather to have them than the enemy. He also exhorted them to direct their men to kindle fires; and promised he would choose so convenient a time for their departure, that they should all arrive safe in Greece. The captains resolved to do as he advised, and after they had ordered fires to be lighted, they began to fall upon the cattle.

XX. For the Eubœans<sup>y</sup>, slighting the answer they received from the oracle of Bacis<sup>z</sup> as signifying nothing, had neither carried out any thing to a place of safety, nor collected provision in their cities, as men would do, who expect a war; and by that means had brought their affairs into a critical state. The oracle was conceived in these words;

When a Barbarian shall with byblus yoke  
The boisterous sea, then drive your bleating goats  
Far from Eubœan shores.

But the Eubœans shewing no regard to this admonition, though they were in a bad condition at present, and, in expectation of farther misfortunes, fell into the greatest<sup>a</sup> distress.

XXI. In the mean time the spy arrived from Trachis. For Polyas of Anticyra was left as a spy at Artemisium, and had an oared vessel ready to attend him, with orders to inform the Grecians at Thermopylæ, if the fleet should come to an action; in the same manner Abronychus, the son of Lysicles an Athenian, was with Leonidas, and was ready to carry the tidings to those at Artemisium in a galley of thirty oars, if any [thing considerable should happen to the land forces. This Abronychus arriving, gave an account of what had befallen Leonidas, and those who were with him: which when the Greeks heard, they resolved not to defer their departure, but stood away immediately in the order they were; the Corinthians in the van, and the Athenians in the rear<sup>b</sup>.

XXII. Themistocles at the same time having chosen the

<sup>y</sup> Schweighæuser thinks that the following chapter would be better placed after the fourth.

<sup>z</sup> There were three soothsayers of this name; the most ancient was of Eleon in Boeotia, the second of Athens, and the third of Caphya in Arcadia. See the Scholiast of Aristophanes, (Pax. 1071.) Larcher.

<sup>a</sup> *Πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα*. This expression is somewhat unusual, but has I think the

same force as *ἐς τὰ μέγιστα*. Schweigh.

<sup>b</sup> Later writers tell of Grecian victories off Artemisium, utterly inconsistent with the events that followed; but Plato's (de Legib. iv.) slight mention of the actions there confirms Herodotus's account; and even Plutarch (Themist.) gives some degree of corresponding testimony. Mitford's Greece, viii. 4. note 29.

swiftest of the Athenian ships, sailed to the place where there was fresh water, and engraved these words upon the stones, which were read the next day by the Ionians, when they arrived at Artemisium: "Men of Ionia, you are guilty of injustice, in fighting against your fathers, and helping to enslave Greece: resolve, therefore, to come over to us; or, if you cannot do that, withdraw your forces from the contest, and persuade the Carians to imitate your example. But if both these ways are impracticable, and you find yourselves under an absolute necessity of continuing in the Persian fleet, at any rate be cowards intentionally, when we come to an engagement; and remember, that you are not only descended from us, but are the original cause of the Barbarians' enmity against us." I suppose Themistocles did this with a double view; hoping, that if these words were not discovered to the king, he might induce the Ionians to come over to the Greeks; or if they were reported to him, and imputed to the Ionians for a crime, he should bring them into such a suspicion, that Xerxes would for the future keep them back in the naval engagements.

XXIII. Themistocles finished this inscription<sup>c</sup>, and immediately a certain man of Histiaëa went over in a boat, and gave the Barbarians an account of the departure of the Greeks from Artemisium; but they, suspecting the messenger, secured him under a guard, and sent out some light vessels to discover the state of things. At their return, being informed of the truth, all the fleet weighed anchor at the rising of the sun<sup>d</sup>, and sailed directly to Artemisium; where they continued till about noon, and then proceeding to Histiaëa, possessed themselves of that city, and ravaged all the maritime villages in the district of Ellopia, which is in the province of Histiaëotis.

XXIV. Whilst they were on this coast, they received a message from Xerxes, after he had disposed of the dead bodies of his men as he thought most convenient: for of twenty thousand of his army, who were killed at Thermopylæ, leaving only one thousand unburied, he caused all the rest to be interred in pits dug for the purpose, and then caused earth to be put over them, and leaves to be scattered about, that they might not be seen by those who should come from the fleet. When his messenger arrived at Histiaëa, he summoned a ge-

<sup>c</sup> Leotychides (see book ix. 97.) made use of a similar artifice.

<sup>d</sup> "Ἀμ ἡλίου σκιδναμένῳ. As soon as the sun scattered its rays. The same figure is used by Homer, and by Æsch. Pers. 502. *Spargere lumine terras* is common among the Latins; Lucretius and Lucan frequently make use of it.

Our great poet Milton has adopted a similar expression in the opening of the 5th book of *Paradise Lost*;

"Now morn, her rosy steps in th'  
"eastern clime  
"Advancing, sow'd the earth with  
"orient pearl.



neral meeting of all the naval forces, and said, " Friends and  
 " allies, any of those among you that are desirous, may leave  
 " his post and see the king's forces have fought against incon-  
 " siderate men, who vainly imagined they could conquer his  
 " army, with the permission of king Xerxes."

XXV. Upon which notification, nothing was more scarce than a boat, so many were anxious to enjoy the spectacle. When they had crossed over, they went through the field of battle, and viewed the dead; they believed<sup>e</sup> all the bodies to be those of the Lacedæmonians and Thespians, though indeed many Helots were among them; but the method Xerxes had taken to dispose of the bodies of his own men, could not be concealed from those who came from the fleet: and, indeed, the thing was ridiculous; to shew only a thousand Barbarians killed, when all the four thousand Grecians lay dead in heaps in the same spot. In this view they spent that day, and on the next returned with their ships to Histiaæa, whilst Xerxes advanced with his army.

XXVI. In his march, a small number of Arcadians<sup>f</sup>, indigent and desirous of employment, deserted to him; and, being brought into the king's presence, were examined concerning the present occupation of the Greeks. One of the Persians in particular put these questions: the Arcadians answered, they were employed in celebrating the Olympic games<sup>g</sup>, and in viewing the horse-races and gymnastic combats. The Persian asked farther, what reward the victorious were to have; they replied, a crown of olive. Upon which Tritan-tæchmes<sup>h</sup> the son of Artabanus delivered his opinion with a noble generosity, which caused him to be accused of fear by the king: for when he heard that the recompence of the conquerors was a crown, and not riches, he could not forbear breaking out into this expression: " O Mardonius," said he, " against what kind of men have you persuaded us to make  
 " war! Men who fight not for wealth, but for glory<sup>i</sup>!"

<sup>e</sup> Ἐπίσταςθαι is frequently used in this sense. Although the Helots were equipped differently from the Lacedæmonians, the troops of Xerxes could not distinguish them. *Larcher*.

<sup>f</sup> I do not think any author has mentioned the name of that people of Arcadia which deserted to the Persians. I am of opinion with Heringa, that they are the same as the Caryatæ mentioned by Vitruvius i. 1. *Larcher*.

The practice of seeking hire in foreign military service, appears to have obtained among that mountain-people before it became usual with the other European Greeks. Mitford's Greece, viii. 4.

<sup>g</sup> For a full account of these games, see a Dissertation on the Olympic games, by Gilbert West. See also book vii. ch. 206.

<sup>h</sup> Most editions have Tigranes. I have followed the manuscript of San-croft, the translation of Valla, and the editions of Wesseling and Borheck. *Larcher*.

Schweighæuser also reads Tritan-tæchmes, and supposes that he was the individual who questioned the Arcadians.

<sup>i</sup> Ἀρετῇ does not signify so much what we call virtue, as courage, glory; in a word, all military virtues. *Larcher*.

XXVII. In the mean time, and immediately after the defeat at Thermopylæ, the Thessalians<sup>k</sup> sent a herald to the Phocians, as they had always entertained hatred<sup>l</sup> towards them, and particularly after their last defeat. For not many years before the expedition of Xerxes, the Thessalians, in conjunction with their allies, having invaded the territories of the Phocians with all their forces, had been repulsed with great loss, in this manner. The Phocians being compelled to retire to mount Parnassus, made use of this stratagem, by the advice of the prophet Tellias<sup>m</sup> of Elis, who was then in their camp. They covered the armour and faces of six hundred of their best men with white plaster<sup>n</sup>, and sent them out by night against the Thessalians, with orders to kill every man they should not find besflowered with chalk like themselves. The sentinels of the Thessalians first saw them, and were terrified, as they supposed it was some strange prodigy, and afterwards the whole army were struck with such a terror, that the Phocians got possession of four thousand dead and their shields, one half of which they dedicated at Abæ, and the other half at Delphi. The tenth part of the booty they took in this fight was employed to purchase those great statues which stand about the tripod which is in the front of the temple<sup>o</sup> at Delphi, and others of equal dimensions erected in Abæ<sup>p</sup>.

XXVIII. Thus the Phocians<sup>q</sup> dealt with the foot of the Thessalians, by which they had been besieged; and completely ruined their cavalry<sup>r</sup>, when they made an eruption into their

<sup>k</sup> Thessaly, by the extent and richness of its territory, should have carried the greatest political importance of perhaps any province in Greece. The whole country besides could not raise such a force of cavalry; and no other province, by the superiority of its produce to its consumption, could equally support expensive establishments, and maintain distant warfare. But Thessaly was divided and subdivided into little governments, yet more than Bœotia, with connecting institutions even more defective. Thus the history of its people is reduced to confused accounts of conquest, of which no detail remains, over the northern inhabitants of their own country, the Perrhæbians and Magnetes, and of eternal predatory war with the Phocians, their southern neighbours; whence arose a national animosity that nearly involved the subjugation of all Greece, when assailed by a foreign enemy. Mitford's Greece, v. 1.

<sup>l</sup> See book vii. ch. 176.

<sup>m</sup> He was the chief of the family of the Telliadæ, in which divination was

hereditary. We meet afterwards (ix. 37.) with Hegesistratus of this family. The Phocians in gratitude for this victory caused his statue to be made, and sent it to Delphi, with those of the leaders and heroes of their country. (Pausan. x. 1. *Larcher*.)

<sup>n</sup> This was in order to frighten the enemy, as well as that they might know one another. The Ariti, the inhabitants of the present Silesia, are described by Tacitus (*de Morib. German.* 43.) as painting their shields *black*, and attacking the foe during the darkest nights in order to terrify them. *Larcher*.

<sup>o</sup> The temple properly so called, which was within the sacred enclosure or *ἱρόν*.

<sup>p</sup> Concerning this oracle see note on ch. cxxxiv.

<sup>q</sup> Other acts of enmity between these two nations, and the rejoicings of the Phocians in consequence of these victories, are related by Plutarch *de Virtut. Mulier.* p. 244. and Pausanias x. 1.

<sup>r</sup> The Thessalian cavalry was very famous.



territories; for, having opened a vast trench in the entrance into their country, which is near the city of Hyampolis<sup>s</sup>, and filled it with empty amphoræ, which they covered with earth, and brought to a level with the rest of the ground, they waited the coming of the Thessalians; who, advancing with impetuosity, as if to carry off the Phocians, fell in among the earthen vessels, and broke the legs of their horses.

XXIX. The Thessalians bearing a grudge against them for these two things, sent this message by their herald to the Phocians: "Be convinced now more than ever, O Phocians, that you are inferior to us. For both in former times among the Greeks, as long as that party pleased us, we always proved superior to you; and now, we have so great influence with the Barbarian, that it is in our power to dispossess you of your country, and even to enslave your persons. Nevertheless, though you are entirely at our mercy, we forget the injuries you have done us, and ask no more than fifty talents of silver, by way of reparation; we engage upon your compliance, to prevent the dangers impending over you."

XXX. The Thessalians sent to make this demand, because the Phocians were the only people of those parts who had not fallen in with the interest of the Medes: from which, as I conjecture, they were restrained by no other reason, than their enmity to the Thessalians; and I am of opinion that the Phocians would have joined with the Medes, if the Thessalians had taken part with the Greeks. However, in answer to this message, the Phocians peremptorily refused to give the money, and said, if they were disposed to revolt to the Medes, the way was open to them, as well as to the Thessalians; but that they would not willingly be traitors to Greece.

XXXI. When their answer was reported, the Thessalians then became so incensed against the Phocians, that, serving for guides to the Barbarians, and marching in the van of their army from Trachis, they entered Doris. For a narrow neck of Doric land extends that way, about thirty stades in breadth, and situate between Melis and the territories of the Phocians, and anciently known<sup>t</sup> by the name of Dryopis. This country is the mother country of all the Dorians in Peloponnesus. The Barbarians made no depredations in their passage through the

<sup>s</sup> This was originally called Hyantonpolis, because first built by the Hyanti, when driven by Cadmus from Bœotia. (Pausan. x. 35.) Eustathius (Comment. ad Iliad. ii. pag. 275.) is of a different opinion. Larcher, Table Geograph.

<sup>t</sup> In the Greek there is *ἡπειρ*, which

appears to belong to τῆς Φωκίδος χώρας. But Phocis was never called Doris or Dryopis. The Dorians did formerly occupy Dryopis, from whence they went into the Peloponnese. See book i. 56. and ch. xliii. of this book. Larcher.

territories of Doris, because the inhabitants were partizans of the Medes, and the Thessalians advised them not to do so.

XXXII. From thence they entered into Phocis, and did not get possession of the Phocians themselves, but under the guidance of the Thessalians, the Barbarians over-ran the whole country, carried fire and sword wherever they went, and threw fire both into their cities and their temples. For some of the Phocians had retired to the top of mount Parnassus<sup>u</sup>, on that top which is separate from the other, and opposite the city Neon<sup>x</sup>, and goes by the name of Tithorea; it is spacious enough to contain considerable numbers; to this summit they carried their moveables and went themselves; but the greater part had betaken themselves to Amphissa, a city belonging to the Locri Ozolæ, situated above the plain of Crisa.

XXXIII. In their march the Barbarians ravaged all the country along the river Cephissus, and burnt the cities of Drymus, Charadra, Erochus, Tethronius, Amphicæa, Neon<sup>y</sup>, Pedieæ, Triteæ, Elatea, and Hyampolis; Parapotamii and Abæ; in which was a wealthy temple of Apollo, ornamented with many treasures<sup>z</sup>, and consecrated donations, where oracles were delivered in those days, as they are at present. This temple they plundered and burnt; and pursuing the Phocians into the mountains, took several prisoners: such numbers of men forcing the women who fell into their hands, that divers died in the place.

XXXIV. After the Barbarians had passed the Parapotamii, they arrived in the territories of the Panopeans, and from thence their army proceeded in two bodies. The most numerous and powerful part of their forces marched towards Athens with Xerxes, and entered Bœotia into the territory of Orchomenus. But because all the Bœotians were in the interest of the Medes, their cities were preserved by Macedonians, posted in different places, which Alexander had sent, to make it known to Xerxes that they favoured his party. This was the direction which that party of the Barbarians took.

XXXV. The rest, with their guides<sup>a</sup>, having on their right

<sup>u</sup> This mountain, which was situated in Phocis, had two principal summits, Nauplia and Hyampæa, which gave to it the epithet of *biceps*. Larcher.

For a description of it and the surrounding country, see Spon and Wheeler's Travels in Greece, vol. ii.

<sup>x</sup> Neon probably was built at the foot of that summit which stands alone, and therefore, when the city was taken, the inhabitants saved themselves in the top of the mountain. See the note of Schw.

<sup>y</sup> Larcher supposes that this ought to

be Cleonæ. He has so interpreted the preceding Chapter, that Neon appears to be situated in the mountain, and to have been the refuge of the Phocians. See his note.

<sup>z</sup> These were composed of the presents which had been made to the God: and perhaps also the cities of Phocis deposited their wealth in the temple, as the greater part of the Greeks did at Delphi. Larch.

<sup>a</sup> I suppose that ἡγεμόνας here signifies guides, as in ch. 31. ἡγεμόνες τῆς ὁδοῦ. What need was there to remark



mount Parnassus, advanced towards the temple of Delphi; and destroying all they found in their way belonging to Phocis, set fire to the cities of the Panopians, Daulians, and Æolians<sup>b</sup>. These forces were detached from the other part of the army, and sent this way, in order to plunder the temple of Delphi, and present them to Xerxes; who, as I have learnt, was better informed of all the valuable things there, than of those he left behind him at home; so many persons continually entertained him with discourses concerning these treasures, and more especially of the donations made by Croesus the son of Alyattes.

XXXVI. When the Delphians heard of their design, they fell into a great consternation; and with dreadful apprehensions, consulted the oracle, whether they should hide their treasures under ground, or transport them to another country. But the God would not suffer the treasures to be moved; saying, he was sufficiently able to protect his own. The Delphians having received this answer, began to think of themselves; and after they had sent their wives and children across to Achaia, the greater part of the men went either to the top of Parnassus, or into the Corycian cave<sup>c</sup>; whilst others retired to Amphissa, belonging to the Locrians: in a word, all the inhabitants of Delphi abandoned the city, except only sixty men, and the prophet<sup>d</sup>.

XXXVII. When the Barbarians were advanced within sight of the temple, the prophet, whose name was Aceratus, seeing the arms, which no mortal may without impiety touch, brought out, and laid before the sacred place<sup>e</sup>, went and told the prodigy to the Delphians who were left in the city. But when the Barbarians, hastening their march, arrived at the temple of Minerva Pronæa<sup>f</sup>, much greater prodigies than the

that they had generals. *Larcher*.

<sup>b</sup> Valckenaer and Wesseling wish to read *Διλαίων* instead of *Διολιδίων*. *Larcher* thinks the general reading preferable. See their notes.

<sup>c</sup> There was another celebrated cave of the same name in Cilicia. *Schw*.

A very beautiful description of the one at Delphi is given in the Travels of Anacharsis, vol. ii. p. 30, 31. See also Spon and Wheler's Travels in Greece, &c. vol. ii. p. 37.

<sup>d</sup> As the Pythia delivered her oracles in a confused and unintelligible manner, there was a sacred interpreter to put them in order, and give them to those people who came to consult the God. This interpreter was called the Prophet. In the time of Herodotus there was but one. But superstition having increased

with the reputation of the oracle, there became need of more. They were chosen by lot from the principal Delphians. The term prophet properly signifies one who speaks in the place of another. Hence it was applied to the person who represented to the Divinity the wants of a people or an individual, and who reported the answers of the God. *Larcher*.

<sup>e</sup> A little before the battle of Leuctra, it was given out that the temples had opened of themselves, and that the arms which were in the temple of Hercules had disappeared from it, as if Hercules himself had gone to be present at the engagement. But many persons said that these prodigies were the inventions of the Magistrates. *Xenoph. Hellen.* vi. 4. sect. 7.

<sup>f</sup> See note on book i. ch. 92.

former were seen. And indeed though the sight of those instruments of war, which had moved out of the temple of themselves, was very wonderful; yet the second prodigies, which followed the former, deserve peculiar admiration beyond all others. For when the Barbarians, as they came on, reached Minerva's temple, thunder fell from heaven upon their troops, and two crags torn from Parnassus, rolled upon them<sup>g</sup> with a loud crash, and killed many of their men, and a loud cry and a war-shout was heard issuing from the temple of the Goddess.

XXXVIII. All these things in conjunction struck the Barbarians with a panic; the Delphians having learnt that they had betaken themselves to flight, came down after them from the mountain, and made a great slaughter among them. The survivors fled into Boeotia; and, as I am informed, those who returned declared, that, besides other miraculous things, they saw two persons of more than human stature, completely armed, pursuing<sup>h</sup> and killing them in their flight.

XXXIX. The Delphians say these two were, Phylacus<sup>i</sup> and Autonus, heroes of the country, and that there are places dedicated to them not far from the temple; that of Phylacus is situated by the highway above the temple of Minerva Pronæa, and the other near the Castalian spring under the rock Hyampea. The rocks that broke from Parnassus are seen to this day lying in the enclosure of Minerva, on the place where they fell among the Barbarians. And such was the retreat of these men from the temple<sup>k</sup>.

XL. The Grecian fleet, in their return from Artemisium, put in at Salamis, at the solicitation of the Athenians; who made this request, in order to carry off their wives and children out of Attica, and to consult of measures to be taken in that conjuncture; for in the present condition of affairs they intended to hold a consultation, because they had been disappointed in their expectation. For whereas they thought to find the Peloponnesians with all their forces waiting in Boeotia to receive the Barbarians, they found no signs of them; but on the contrary, were informed that they were employed in fortifying the isthmus with a wall; considering it of the great-

<sup>g</sup> This is also related by Diodorus Siculus, xi. 14.

<sup>h</sup> The participle *ἔχων*, which is occasionally joined to finite verbs, is not redundant, but appears to indicate a kind of continuity: which Hermann. (Adnot. 228. ad Viger.) has remarked, and has stated that *ληρεῖς* signifies *you are trifling now*, but *ληρεῖς ἔχων*, *you are a trifler*. Schweighæuser.

<sup>i</sup> When the Gauls (Pausan. x. 23.)

came to plunder the temple of Delphi, the heroes Hyperochus, Laodocus, Pyrrhus, and some say Phylacus, came to their assistance. Justin (xxiv. 8) has metamorphosed the two first into two virgins of extraordinary beauty. Larcher.

<sup>k</sup> From this story it is not difficult to detach the preternatural machinery, and we find an account remaining, neither improbable nor very defective. Mitford's Greece, viii. 4.



est consequence to preserve Peloponnesus, to protect it, and be careless of the rest; and for these reasons the Athenians desired the allies to stay at Salamis.

**XLI.** The rest therefore continued in that station, but the Athenians returned home; and at their arrival caused proclamation to be made<sup>1</sup>, that every one should endeavour to save his wife and children by the best means he could contrive. Accordingly they sent the greater part to Trœzene<sup>m</sup>; some to Ægina, and others to Salamis; using all possible diligence in transporting their families, not only in obedience to the oracle, but in particular for this reason. For the Athenians say, that the Acropolis was guarded by a great serpent which lived in the temple<sup>n</sup>; and, as if it really did exist there, they every month solemnly presented a certain quantity of paste mixed with honey; which in former time having always been consumed, now remained entire and untouched. So that when the priestess had given public notice of this event, the Athenians were more eager<sup>o</sup> to leave the city, because they concluded the God had abandoned the fortress; and therefore, after every thing had been deposited in a place of safety, they sailed to the station of the rest of the fleet.

**XLII.** When the rest of the naval forces of the Greeks understood that those who had lain at Artemisium were arrived at Salamis, they hastened thither from Trœzene, where their rendezvous had been appointed in the harbour of Pogon. This fleet, much more numerous than that which fought at Artemisium, as being furnished by a greater number of cities, was still commanded by Eurybiades the son of Euryclides, a Spartiate, though he was not of the royal family. The Athenians supplied the most and the best sailing ships.

**XLIII.** The following people joined in the expedition. From the Peloponnesians, the Lacedæmonians furnished sixteen ships; the Corinthians the same number<sup>p</sup> they had at Artemisium; the Sicyonians fifteen; the Epidaurians ten; the Trœzenians five; and the Hermionians three. All these, except the last, were originally Dorians and Macedni<sup>q</sup>, and came from Erineus, Pindus, and last of all from Dryopis.

<sup>1</sup> It was a crime at Athens to leave one's country in time of danger, or even to remove one's wife and children before permission to do so had been given by a decree. See Larcher's note.

Plutarch relates that Cimon, the son of the great Miltiades, distinguished himself upon this trying occasion. See his Life of Cimon.

<sup>m</sup> Plutarch (in Themist. p. 116.) received them with great humanity, and decreed that they should be maintained

at the public expence. They allowed the children to gather fruit any where, and payed masters to instruct them. The author of this decree was Nicagoras. Larcher.

<sup>n</sup> The temple of Minerva Polias. See note on book i. ch. 160.

<sup>o</sup> Themistocles contrived this prodigy, according to Plutarch. See his Life of Themistocles, p. 116.

<sup>p</sup> That is, forty. See ch. i.

<sup>q</sup> See book i. ch. 56.

The Hermionians indeed are of Dryopian extraction; but they were ejected by Hercules<sup>r</sup> and the Melians out of that country which is now called Doris. These were the Peloponnesians who served.

XLIV. From the continent beyond the isthmus, the Athenians, who may be put in comparison with all the rest<sup>a</sup>, of themselves furnished one hundred and eighty ships; for the Plateans were not with them at the battle of Salamis, on account of the following circumstance. When the Greeks had abandoned Artemisium, and were arrived on the coast of Chalcis, the Plateans landed on the opposite coast in Bœotia, in order to carry off their wives and children; and whilst they took care to preserve their families<sup>t</sup>, were themselves left behind. When the Pelasgians possessed those countries, which now go by the name of Greece, the Athenians were Pelasgians<sup>u</sup>, and went by the name of Cranaï<sup>x</sup>: under the reign of Cecrops<sup>y</sup> they had the name of Cecropidæ; which when Erectheus succeeded to the throne, they changed for that of Athenians; they were named Ionians, from Ion the son of Xuthus, who became their leader.

XLV. The Megarenes supplied the same number of ships<sup>z</sup> as at Artemisium; the Ambraciots brought to their assistance seven; and the Leucadians, who are Dorians, of Corinthian extraction, three.

XLVI. From the islands, the Æginetæ furnished thirty ships<sup>a</sup>; and having left several others equipped at home for the guard of their country, fought at Salamis in these thirty; which were the swiftest they had. The Æginetæ are Dorians,

<sup>r</sup> See Pausanias, iv. 34. who adds, that Hercules afterwards, in obedience to an oracle, conducted them into the Peloponnese, where they occupied Asine, near Hermione.

<sup>s</sup> Compare Thucyd. i. ch. 74. Ἡσὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὰς τετρακοσίας, ὀλίγῃ ἐλασσονες τῶν δύο μοιρῶν. See also note on ch. i.

<sup>t</sup> See note on ch. iv.

<sup>u</sup> See note on book i. ch. 56. Also an Essay of De La Nauze in the Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. xxiii. p. 125. and seq. Schweighæuser.

<sup>x</sup> The Athenians had this name from the rough and mountainous country which they occupied, and not from Cranaus their king, as most authors maintain. Larcher.

It has been generally held by later writers, that Cranaus succeeded Cecrops in the throne of Attica; and that from him the people must have had the name of Cranaans, as they afterward sometimes

bore that of Erectheids from Erectheus. Hence the modern learned have supposed a fault in the copies of Herodotus, and have proposed ingenious amendments. (See Wesseling's note.) Perhaps, however, we had better leave the copies of Herodotus as we find them, and pay a little more attention to an expression of Strabo, where he is treating of the early history of Attica, Οἷτε δὲ τὴν Ἀθίδαν συγγράψαντες πολλὰ διαφωνοῦντες, &c. Strabo, ix. p. 392. Mitford's Greece, ch. i. sect. 3. note 34.

<sup>y</sup> This prince flourished a little before Deucalian. He established marriages among the Athenians, and ordained that each man should have but one wife. See Justin. ii. 6. Larcher.

<sup>z</sup> Twenty. See ch. i.

<sup>a</sup> Valckenaer supposes that we ought here to read 42. Borheck and Larcher have adopted this conjecture. But all the manuscripts agree in giving 30. See note on ch. xlviii. Schweigh.



descended from Epidaurus, and their island was formerly known by the name of *Ænone*. Next to these, the Chalcidians furnished the same twenty as they had at Artemisium; and the Eretrians the same seven: both these nations are Ionians. The people of Ceos, who are likewise Ionians, and descended from Athens, came with the same number<sup>b</sup> they had before. The Naxians brought in four ships, though they had been sent by their people to join the Medes with the rest of the islanders; but slighting their orders, they chose to side with the Greeks; chiefly by the persuasion of Democritus<sup>c</sup>, an eminent citizen of Naxos, and then captain of a trireme. The Naxians also are Ionians, and derive their blood from Athens. The Styreans came in with the same ships<sup>d</sup> they had at Artemisium; and the Cythnians with one, and a galley of fifty oars. Both these people are Dryopians. The Seriphians, the Siphnians<sup>e</sup>, and the Melians took part with the Grecians likewise; having already distinguished themselves from all the rest of the islanders, by refusing earth and water to the Barbarian.

XLVII. All these nations are situate on this side the river Acheron and the Thesprotians. For the Thesprotians border on the Ambraciots and Leucadians, who came from the extremities of Greece. But of all the people that inhabit the countries beyond the Thesprotians, the Crotoniatæ, originally of Achaia<sup>f</sup>, came singly to succour Greece in this time of danger; and brought in one ship of war, commanded by Phayllus<sup>g</sup>, who had thrice been victorious<sup>h</sup> in the Pythian exercises.

XLVIII. The Melians, the Siphnians, and the Seriphians furnished galleys of fifty oars; but the rest joined the expedition with triremes. The Melians, who are descended from Lacedæmon<sup>i</sup>, furnished two; and the Siphnians with the Seriphians, both Ionians, of Athenian original, one each. So that the whole number of these ships, without recounting the penteconters, amounted to three hundred and seventy-eight<sup>k</sup>.

XLIX. When the leaders had assembled at Salamis from the several cities I have mentioned, they held a council of war; in which Eurybiades proposed to the rest of the captains,

<sup>b</sup> Two. See ch. i.

<sup>c</sup> Simonides wrote an inscription to celebrate the glory acquired by Democritus in the battle of Salamis. It is preserved by Plutarch, de Malign. Herodot. p. 869.

<sup>d</sup> Two. See ch. i.

<sup>e</sup> See book iii. ch. 57. and note.

<sup>f</sup> Strabo, vi. p. 402. also describes the Crotoniatæ as a colony from Achaia.

<sup>g</sup> It seems strange that so powerful a state should only have sent one ship; but it appears much more probable that

Phayllus, from gratitude to the country in which he had obtained three Pythian victories, fitted out the ship at his own expence. This suspicion is confirmed by Pausanias, x. 9. *Valckenaer*.

<sup>h</sup> Twice in the Pentathlum and once in the Stadium. Pausan. x. 9.

<sup>i</sup> See Larcher's Essay on Chronology, ch. xiv. pag. 362. and seq. and particularly ch. xv. sect. 3. pag. 441. for information on the foundation of this colony.

<sup>k</sup> The following scheme represents the

that every man would freely deliver his opinion, where he thought they might fight with most advantage, in those parts which were yet in their possession. For Attica was already given up, and he made this proposition concerning the other places. The greater number of opinions agreed, that they should sail to the isthmus, and fight before Peloponnesus; alledging for their reasons, that if they should lose a battle at Salamis, they should be besieged in the island, without the least hope of succour; whereas, if the like misfortune should happen at the isthmus, they might retire to their own cities.

L. When the Peloponnesians were debating on this point, a certain Athenian arrived with intelligence, that the Barbarian had entered Attica, and was devastating the whole of it with fire. For the army, with Xerxes, which had taken its route through Boeotia, after having burnt the city of the Thespians, who had retired to Peloponnesus, and also the city of the Plataeans, had arrived at Athens, and was laying waste every part of it. They set fire to Thespia and Plataea, upon information from the Thebans, that those cities were not in the interest of the Medes.

LI. The Barbarians, after having crossed the Hellespont, stopped one month on its shores, including the time occupied in passing over into Europe; they then began their march, and in three months more arrived in Attica, when Calliades was archon of the Athenians, and took the city, abandoned by all the inhabitants, except a few men they found in the temple, with the treasures<sup>1</sup> of the temple, and some indigent persons; who, having fortified the Acropolis with gates, and palisades of

different numbers furnished by each nation at Artemisium and Salamis:

At Artemis. At Salamis.

Lacedæmonians	10	16
Corinthians	40	40
Sicyonians	12	15
Epidaurians	8	10
Troezenians	5	5
Hermionians	—	3
Athenians	127	180
Megareans	20	20
Ambraciots	—	7
Leucadians	—	3
Æginetæ	18	30
Chalcidians	20	20
Eretrians	7	7
Ceans	2	2
Naxians	—	4
Styreans	2	2
Cythnians	—	1
Crotoniatæ	—	1

271

366

It appears by this table that the whole

number of triremes at Salamis amounted only to 366, but every manuscript here reads 378. To remove this difficulty Valckenaer conjectures that the Æginetæ furnished 42, and not 30, as in ch. xlvi. This conjecture has been adopted by Larcher and Borheck. Schweighæuser objects to this alteration of the text, but supposes that the Æginetæ furnished only 30, and that they left 12 behind to protect their country, which 12 are here taken into account, as forming part of the Greek naval forces. See his note, and also those of Valckenaer and Larcher.

<sup>1</sup> The quæstors of the temple of Minerva in the Acropolis, to whom the care of the public treasures was committed. See Jul. Pollux, (viii. 9. segm. 97.) Harpocrat. and Suidas, (in voc.) See also Aristoph. Lysist. v. 173. and seq. and a dissertation by Barthélemy on an ancient Greek inscription, relative to the Athenian finances. Paris, de l'Imprim. Royale, 1792. 4to. Larcher and Schw.



wood, defended themselves against the enemy. These men did not go to Salamis, partly by reason of their poverty, and partly because they thought they had found the sense of the oracle delivered by the Pythian, "That the wall of wood" should be impregnable;" imagining, that this was the refuge predicted by the priestess, and not the navy.

LII. The Persians, on their part, posted themselves over against the fort, upon a hill, which the Athenians call Areopagus<sup>m</sup>, and began their attack in this manner. Having wrapped their arrows in tow, and set fire to them, they shot them against the palisade. Upon this the besieged, though they were in the utmost extremity, and though their palisade had failed them, yet endeavoured to defend themselves, and refused to accept the terms that were offered by the Pisistratidæ, if they would surrender; and, among other things they contrived for their defence, threw down large stones upon the Barbarians, as they made their approaches to the gates; so that Xerxes was in no little perplexity for a considerable time, as he could not take it.

LIII. At length, in the midst of these difficulties, a way of entering was discovered by the Barbarians; for it was necessary, according to the prediction of the oracle, "That all the" territories of Attica, which are situate on the continent, "should be subdued by the Persians." In front of the citadel, but behind the gates and the road which leads up to it, where no one kept guard, nor would any one ever have had any suspicion that any man could ascend that way, some of the Barbarians mounted by the temple of Aglauros<sup>n</sup>, the daughter

<sup>m</sup> Or hill of Mars. On this hill was held the celebrated court of Areopagus. It was so called, according to Suidas, because all wilful murders came under its cognizance, Mars being the God of war and bloodshed. Others (Pausan. i. 28. Demosth. in Aristoc. p. 413. and Aristid. Panath. p. 6.) relate that Mars was here tried by the Gods, for murdering the son of Neptune. But Æschylus, (Eumen. 688. and seq.) who is the most ancient, says that the Amazons, when they came to attack Theseus, offered sacrifices to Mars, their reputed father. See also the Etymolog. Magn. Some attribute the establishment of the Senate to Cecrops, but it is evident that Solon regulated and augmented its power. Its origin however is uncertain. See Demosthenes, loc. cit. The number of judges is not agreed upon. The nine archons, or as some say only the Thesmothetæ, belonged to it; all of them give an account of their conduct during their

archonship previous to their becoming regular members. They had cognizance of murders, all wounds inflicted deliberately, poison, matters of religion; and it was for this reason Socrates was condemned by this tribunal, and St. Paul arraigned before them. Idleness was a crime which came peculiarly under their cognizance. They sat in the open air, and heard and determined all causes by night, and in the dark that they might not be influenced. See Potter's Grecian Antiq. book i. ch. 19.

<sup>n</sup> Larcher writes this word Agrauros on the authority of Apollodorus (Biblioth. xiii. 3. 2.) and Stephanus of Byzantium. Pausanias (i. 8.) and Ovid (Metamorph. ii. ver. 739.) write it Aglauros, as in all the editions of Herodotus. The part by which the Persians penetrated into the citadel was to the south-west. See the plan of the citadel of Athens in the second volume of Stuart's Antiquities of Athens.

of Cecrops, although the place was craggy and precipitous. When the Athenians saw the enemy within the Acropolis, some threw themselves down from the walls, and were killed; and others retired into the temple: but the Persians, who had entered, went immediately to the gates; and having forced them open, killed all those that had taken sanctuary there; after which slaughter, they pillaged the temple, and set fire to every part of the Acropolis.

LIV. Xerxes being thus entirely master of Athens, dispatched a messenger to Susa on horseback, to acquaint Artabanus with the prosperous condition of his affairs: and the next day, after the departure of this courier, he called together the Athenian exiles, who were in his army, and ordered them to go up to the Acropolis, and to sacrifice according to the custom of their own country. But whether he commanded this by the impulse of a dream, or from a motive of remorse<sup>o</sup> for burning the temple, is uncertain. However that be, the exiles performed his command.

LV. I will now give the reason, why I mentioned the thing. In the Acropolis stands a temple dedicated to Erectheus<sup>p</sup>, who is reported to have been born of the earth; and within that building an olive-tree<sup>q</sup>, and a sea<sup>r</sup>, which, the Athenians say, were placed there by Neptune and Minerva, in testimony of their contest<sup>s</sup> about that country. The olive-tree happened

<sup>o</sup> See note on ii. 175.

<sup>p</sup> He appears to have been styled the son of earth, because his origin was not known. In his temple in the Acropolis there were three altars. The first was consecrated to Neptune and Erectheus, whence Neptune was called Erechthean; the second was dedicated to Butes, and the third to Vulcan, (Pausan. i. 26.)

These altars were raised because he sacrificed his daughter for the safety of his country, when it was invaded by Eumolpus king of Thrace. See Lyeurg. cont. Leocrat. p. 217. Edit. Taylor. Larcher.

<sup>q</sup> Pliny (Hist. Nat. xvi. 44.) informs us that this olive was said to exist in his time: *Athenis quoque olea durare traditur in certamine edita a Minerva.* Because goats destroy it and render it barren, it was forbidden to bring goats into the citadel, except once a-year for the necessary sacrifices. Larcher.

<sup>r</sup> This sea was only a cistern, into which sea-water was conducted by subterraneous conduits. The only thing remarkable in it (Pausan. i. 27.) was, that when the south wind blew, a noise

was heard like that of agitated waves; and on the stone was the figure of a trident, which is said to be a testimony of the dispute between Neptune and Minerva. Larcher.

Beloe quotes 2 Kings, ch. xxv. ver. 13. where the word *sea* is used in the same sense; "And the pillars of brass that were in the house of the Lord, and the bases, and the *brazen sea* that were in the house of the Lord, did the Chaldees break in pieces and carried the brass of them to Babylon."

This sea is described in 1 Kings vii. 23. The Greek word in the Septuagint is also *θάλασσα*.

<sup>s</sup> When Cecrops was king of Attica (Apollodor. iii. 13. l.) he changed the name of the country, which was before Actæa, into Cecropia. It is said that under his reign the Gods chose cities in which they wished to be peculiarly honoured. Neptune came first into Attica, and having struck the earth with his trident in the middle of the citadel, produced a sea, which is now called Erechtheides. Afterwards came Minerva, who produced an olive, which we now



to be burnt with the rest of the temple by the Barbarians; and yet the next day after, when the Athenians went thither to sacrifice, by the king's command, they saw a shoot<sup>t</sup> risen from the trunk, of a full cubit<sup>u</sup> in height. The exiles gave this account.

LVI. When the Greeks at Salamis were informed of what had happened to the Acropolis of Athens, they fell into so great a consternation, that some of the commanders, without staying to hear the ratification of the matter proposed to their deliberation, hastened to their ships and hoisted sail, in order to depart; whilst those who continued to sit, came to a resolution, to come to a naval engagement before the isthmus. The assembly broke up at night, and every one departed to his own ship.

LVII. But when Themistocles<sup>x</sup> had come on board his own ship, Mnesiphilus<sup>y</sup>, an Athenian, asked him what they had determined to do; and being told they had resolved to return to the isthmus, and fight to defend Peloponnesus; "Then," said he "if these men carry off their ships from Salamis, you will fight for no country at all; because they will certainly re- turn home to their several cities; and neither Eurybiades, nor any other man living, will be able to prevent the dispersion of the fleet; and Greece must perish by bad counsel. Therefore, without delay, endeavour to contrive some means to put an end to what has been determined; and try, by all possible ways, to persuade Eurybiades to alter his opinion, and to continue in this station."

LVIII. Themistocles was pleased with this suggestion, and, without returning any answer, went immediately to the ship of Eurybiades; and after he had acquainted him that he had something to communicate to him, which concerned the

see in Pandrosium. Jupiter adjudged the town to Minerva, who gave it her name, which in Greek is *Athéné*. *Larcher*.

Other accounts say that Neptune produced a horse, which was not considered so useful to mankind, since it was an emblem of war, as the olive the emblem of peace

<sup>t</sup> *Sunt et miracula fortuita. Nam et oliva in totum ambusta revixit; et in Bœotiâ derosa a locustis ficus germinare. Pliny, Hist. Nat. iii. 17.*

<sup>u</sup> Pausanias (i. 27.) says two cubits. The marvellous increases with time. *Larcher*.

<sup>x</sup> Nothing can be more consonant to the common character of human affairs, in which little circumstances often decide the greatest events, than what the

historian proceeds to relate. Mitford's Greece, viii. 4.

<sup>y</sup> Mnesiphilus belonged to the borough of Prearrhi, as did also Themistocles. "He was (says Plutarch, in *Themist.* p. 112.) neither an orator, nor a philosopher, but he applied himself to that study which was then called wisdom, which was nothing more than the science which teaches men to govern well, and renders prudence vigorous and active." Themistocles had been his disciple, and this accounts for the deference he paid his advice; but as he was not of sufficient consideration, Themistocles thought it better to appropriate his counsel, without naming the author. *Larcher*.

common safety, the Lacedæmonian desired him to come on board and say what he pleased. Then Themistocles, seated beside him, related what he had heard from Mnesiphilus, as if it was his own, and also proposed other arguments, till at last he prevailed with him to go from his ship, and to summon the commanders to a council.

LIX. When they were all assembled, before Eurybiades had acquainted them with the cause of his having called them together, Themistocles, as he was very desirous to influence him, was very vehement in his arguments. But whilst he was speaking, Adimantus, the son of Ocytus, commander of the Corinthians, interrupting him, said, "Themistocles, those who stand on the games before the others, are beaten." "True," replied Themistocles, justifying himself, "but those who are left behind<sup>z</sup> are not crowned."

LX. He then mildly answered the Corinthian. Afterwards, turning to Eurybiades, he used none of the arguments he had before mentioned, that when they had weighed anchor and left Salamis, they would run away; because he thought himself obliged by decency not to accuse any of the confederates in their presence; but he took a different method, and said,

"The safety of Greece, O Eurybiades, is now entirely in your power, if, approving my opinion, you will stay and fight in this place, and not hearken to those who would persuade you to retire with the fleet to the isthmus. Attend then, and weigh the arguments on both sides against each other. If you fight before the isthmus, you must fight in an open sea; which will be by no means advantageous to us, because our ships are not only heavier, but fewer in number than those of the enemy; and, besides, you will inevitably sacrifice Salamis, Megara, and Ægina, though we should happen to meet with better fortune in other places; for the land army of the Barbarians will certainly follow their fleet; and you will by this means draw all their forces towards the Peloponnesus, and bring all Greece into the utmost danger.

"But, on the other hand, if you will do as I advise, you will reap the following advantages. In the first place, if we fight with few ships against a great number, in a narrow straight, according to all the probabilities of war we shall

<sup>z</sup> That is, those who are beaten. Larcher expresses his surprise that Herodotus should have omitted that instance of the great moderation of Themistocles, related by Plutarch in his life. When Themistocles was urging his advice, that they should stay at Salamis, Eurybiades approached him with his cane uplifted. Themistocles, without the least emo-

tion, said, "Strike, but hear me." This trait of greatness disconcerted the Spartan.

Plutarch, through an inattention not unusual with him, has in his Life of Themistocles attributed the reprimand to Eurybiades, in his Apothegms to Adimantus. Mitford's Greece, viii. 5. note 32.



“ be far superior ; for fighting in a confined place is to our  
 “ advantage ; in an open place to that of the enemy. Be-  
 “ sides, we shall preserve Salamis, where we have left our  
 “ wives and children. Moreover, in this line of conduct we  
 “ have that same advantage, which you principally keep in  
 “ view ; for, if you stay and fight here, you will defend Pello-  
 “ ponnesus no less effectually, than by fighting at the isth-  
 “ mus ; and, if you consult your prudence, you will never  
 “ lead the enemy thither.

“ In a word, if we beat the Barbarians at sea, as I hope  
 “ we shall, they will neither proceed to the isthmus, nor pene-  
 “ trate farther than Attica, but must return home with dis-  
 “ grace ; and we shall have this additional advantage, that we  
 “ shall preserve Megara, Ægina, and Salamis ; at which place  
 “ an oracle has foretold that we shall prove superior to the  
 “ enemy. Men generally meet with success when they have  
 “ founded their deliberations on reason ; but not even God  
 “ himself is wont to second the opinions of those who are not  
 “ guided in their decisions by probability <sup>a</sup>.”

LXI. When Themistocles had said these words, Adimantus the Corinthian, breaking out a second time into invectives against him, bade him to be silent, because he had no country ; and dissuaded <sup>b</sup> Eurybiades from putting any question to the vote for one who had no city ; for Themistocles might then have a voice in the council, when he should be able to say, he had a city ; he upbraided him in this manner because Athens was taken, and in the hands of the Persian. Themistocles thus at length heaped many reproaches upon the Corinthians, and Adimantus in particular ; and shewed that the Athenians had a city and country of greater power than Corinth ; and as long as they had two hundred ships of war, armed and manned by themselves, no nation of Greece could repel them.

LXII. After he had signified this, addressing his discourse again to Eurybiades, he said with more vehemence, “ If you  
 “ stay here, and act the part of a brave man, you will save  
 “ Greece <sup>c</sup> ; if not, you will overthrow it ; for the fate of the

<sup>a</sup> Vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo, prospere omnia cedunt : ubi socordia tete atque ignavia tradideris ; nequidquam deos implores, irati infestique sunt. Sallust. Bell. Catilin. 52.

<sup>b</sup> Οὐκ ἔων, as Valckenaer has well explained it, signifies dissuading him from, as in ii. 30, &c. Ἐπιψηφίζειν signifies to ask their opinions, to put it to the vote, (sententias rogare.) Ἀπολι ἀνδρὶ is what grammarians call *dativus commodi* ; this dative is frequently badly

rendered. It should be rendered in *gratiam hominis*, &c. So in Homer, Iliad. v. ver. 210.

Ὅτε Ἴλιον εἰς ἱεραινήν ἡγεύμεν Τρώεσσι.  
 Τρώεσσι signifies in *gratiam Trojanorum*. Larcher.

<sup>c</sup> There is in the original an ellipsis. We must supply σώσεις or ὁρθώσεις τὴν Ἑλλάδα, or else καλῶς or εὖ ἂν ἔχοι. Valckenaer.

“ war rests wholly in our fleet. Be persuaded then by my reasons; or, if you are resolved not to do as I desire, we will immediately take our families on board, and depart to Siris, a city of Italy, belonging to us from ancient time; which we are told by an oracle is to be built and peopled by the Athenians: and you will all remember my words, when you shall find yourselves abandoned by such allies.”

LXIII. When Themistocles had thus spoken, Eurybiades was induced to alter his opinion<sup>d</sup>; or, rather, as I conjecture, the apprehensions he had, that the Athenians would leave him, if he should sail with the fleet to the isthmus, prevailed upon him to change his resolution; for without the assistance of the Athenians, the rest were no way able to resist the enemy; so adhering to the opinion of Themistocles, he determined to stay, and fight it out by sea at Salamis.

LXIV. Thus the Greeks at Salamis, after this verbal skirmish, as soon as Eurybiades had come to this determination, prepared themselves for an engagement in that place. But after day-break, upon the rising of the sun, a shock was felt both by land and sea; upon which they resolved to invoke the Gods, and to implore the help of the Æacidæ. Accordingly, having addressed their prayers to all the Gods, and invoked Ajax and Telamon, in the place where they were, they sent a ship to Ægina to invite to their assistance Æacus and the Æacidæ<sup>e</sup>.

LXV. Dicæus the son of Theocydes, an Athenian exile, in great reputation with the Medes at that time, affirmed, that after the territories of Attica had been ravaged by the land forces of Xerxes, and abandoned by the Athenians, he happened to be at that time with Demaratus, in the plain of Thriasium, where he saw so great a dust rising from Eleusis, as might probably be raised by thirty thousand men: that wondering at the sight, and who should be the cause, they suddenly heard a voice, which to him seemed like that of the Mystic Iacchus<sup>f</sup>; that Demaratus, being unacquainted with the Eleusinian mysteries, asked him the meaning of the noise, and that he made the following answer; “ Demaratus,” said

<sup>d</sup> Ἀναδιδάσκεισθαι, *priora dedoceri, vel dedocendum se præbere, ut quis alia discat istis contraria*: to be convinced of any thing contrary to one's former opinion. See Thucyd. viii. 86. *Valckenaer*.

<sup>e</sup> See book v. ch. 80.

<sup>f</sup> On the 20th of the month Boedromion, (which answers to the 30th of September,) which was the 16th day of the festival of the mysteries of Ceres, (Plutarch. in Carmillo, p. 138.) they carried from Ceramicus to Eleusis a figure of

Iacchus or Bacchus crowned with myrtle, and holding a torch in his hand. (Arist. Ran. v. 331. and seq. Scholiast.) During the procession they sung in honour of the God a hymn, which was called Iacchus, and in which they often repeated the word Iacche. It was sung in honour of Bacchus, the son of Jupiter and Proserpine. (See Arrian. Exped. Alex. ii. 16. and Cicero De Nat. Deor. iii. 23.) *Lar-cher*.



he, "it is impossible but that some great mischief will befall the king's army; for since Attica is deserted, it is very manifest, that it must be the Divinity which spoke, and that he is coming from Eleusis, to succour the Athenians and their allies. If he goes to Peloponnesus, the king and his land forces will be in danger on the continent; and if he takes his way to Salamis, the king will run the hazard of losing his fleet. The Athenians annually celebrate this festival to Ceres and Proserpine; admitting all other Grecians, who desire it, to be initiated in these mysteries<sup>g</sup>; and the cries you hear, are such as they make at the celebration of this solemnity." To these words Demaratus replied, "Be silent, and relate this story to no one; for if it should be reported to the king, you will lose your head; and neither I, nor any other could possibly save you: therefore keep the thing secret; and as for the army, let the care of that rest with the Gods." He said that Demaratus gave him this counsel, and that, after the dust and the voice, a cloud arose, which ascended into the air and rolled to Salamis towards the Grecian fleet; by which they understood that the navy of Xerxes should be destroyed. These things were affirmed by Dicæus the son of Theocydes, appealing to the testimony of Demaratus and other witnesses.

LXVI. When the naval forces of Xerxes had viewed<sup>h</sup> the defeat of the Lacedæmonians, they passed over from Trachis to Histiaëa; and after three days' stay, sailed through the Euripus, and in three days more arrived at Phalerum. Their numbers, in my opinion, were not less, both by land and by sea, when they came to Athens, than when they arrived at Sepias and at Thermopylæ. For I balance the loss of those that perished in the storm, and at Thermopylæ, as well as of those that were killed in the sea fight at Artemisium, with the additional forces they received from the Melians<sup>i</sup>, the Dorians, the Locrians, and the Bœotians, with all their forces, except the Thespians and the Platæans; none of these people having before joined the king's army. To this number I must also add the Carystians, the Andrians, and the Tenians, with all

<sup>g</sup> On these mysteries see Meursius, in his treatise entitled, *Eleusinia*: and particularly Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses. This learned divine is however, in my opinion, wrong, when he supposes that the initiated were instructed in the unity of God. This might perhaps have been done with regard to those who were inclined to believe it; but I am persuaded that they did not mention it to the generality of the initiated, and that they preached atheism to a very

small number of the others. These were my former opinions, but they have been refuted in the learned work of M. de Sainte-Croix, on the Mysteries of Paganism. Sect. v. Art. 5. *Larcher*.

The processions and different ceremonies observed on the celebration of these mysteries are carefully collected in Potter's *Archæol. Græca*, book ii. ch. 20.

<sup>h</sup> See ch. xxiv.

<sup>i</sup> The people of Melis, not those of the island Melos. *Larcher*.

the rest of the Islanders, except the five cities<sup>k</sup> I mentioned before. For the farther the Persian penetrated into Greece, the more nations followed him.

LXVII. When they were all arrived at Athens, except only the Parians, who stayed at Cythnus in expectation of the event, Xerxes himself went on board the fleet to confer with the commanders, and to know their opinions; where, after he had taken his seat, and the kings of the several nations, with the other generals of his marine forces, were assembled by his direction, they sat down likewise according to the honour he assigned them; the king of Sidon first; next to him the king of Tyre; then the rest: when they had all set down in order according to their rank, Xerxes sent Mardonius to put the question to every one in particular, whether they should venture an engagement by sea.

LXVIII. Accordingly Mardonius beginning at the king of Sidon, went round and put that question: all the rest agreed in their opinions, except only Artemisia, who said,

“Mardonius, tell the king<sup>l</sup> for me, that I give my opinion in these words: Sire, since I have not behaved myself worse, nor done less, than others, in the actions upon the coast of Eubœa, I may with reason lay before you what I happen to think most advantageous to your affairs. I advise you then to spare your ships, and not to come to an engagement against those, who, by sea, are as much superior to your forces, as men are to women. Besides, what need have you to hazard another battle at sea? Is not Athens in your possession, for which you undertook the war? And are you not master of the rest of Greece? for no man now opposes you, since those who ventured to resist, met with the fate they deserved.

“I will also tell you, in what way I think the affairs of our adversaries will turn out. If, instead of hastening a naval battle, you should keep your ships here on shore, or advance towards the Peloponnesus, all the projects you originally entertained, will succeed without trouble. For the Greeks cannot be long in a condition to resist; but must separate, and fly to their own cities; because, as I am informed, they have no provisions in this island. Neither can we with any reason believe, that, when you have marched your

<sup>k</sup> As all the islands of the Ægean had a city of the same name as the island, the words πόλις and νῆσος came to signify the same thing on such occasions. Compare iii. 139, &c. The five islands were Naxos, Melos, Sipnos, Seriphus and Cythnus. *Larcher.*

<sup>l</sup> Εἶπαι is the infinitive of the first

aorist. Our Author frequently uses infinitives in this way. See the Ionic Lexicon of Portus, under the title Ἀπαρέμματα ἀντὶ τῶν προστακτικῶν: where, among many other examples, there is this with the pronoun μοι--σὺ δέ μοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύεσθαι. iii. 134. 21. *Valckenaer.*



“ land forces into Peloponnesus, those who came hither from  
 “ thence, will continue here ; nor that they will care to fight  
 “ for the Athenians.

“ But if you determine to engage the enemy at this time,  
 “ I fear the defeat of your naval forces will cause the destruc-  
 “ tion of your land army. Consider besides, O king, that good  
 “ men generally have bad servants, and bad men good. You  
 “ are the best of men ; but you have had servants, who yet  
 “ go under the name of your confederates ; and such are the  
 “ Egyptians, the Cyprians, the Cilicians, and the Pamphylians,  
 “ who are all useless.”

LXIX. When Artemisia had said these words to Mardo-  
 nius, her friends were not a little disturbed ; fearing she might  
 fall under the king's displeasure, for dissuading him from a  
 battle at sea. But those who envied her, because she was  
 honoured by him above all the confederates, were glad she had  
 delivered such an opinion as they thought must certainly ruin  
 her. Yet when the opinions were reported to Xerxes, he  
 shewed himself extremely pleased with the opinion of Arte-  
 misia ; and having always esteemed her zealous for his in-  
 terests, he now honoured her with greater praises than before.  
 Nevertheless he determined to comply with the majority ;  
 and thinking his forces had not done their best at Eubœa, be-  
 cause he was not present, he resolved to be spectator of the  
 engagement.

LXX. To that end orders were given out for sailing, and  
 the whole fleet stood towards Salamis, and drew up in order  
 for battle at leisure : but because night was coming on, and  
 the remaining light not sufficient for a battle, they prepared  
 themselves to fight the next day. In the mean time the  
 Greeks were under much fear and apprehensions, of which the  
 Peloponnesians had the greatest share ; reflecting with fear,  
 that they were then at Salamis, about to fight for the country  
 of the Athenians ; and that if they were beaten, they should  
 be cut off and besieged in the island, while they had left their  
 own country unprotected.

LXXI. In that same night the land army of the Barbarians  
 marched towards Peloponnesus ; though the Greeks had con-  
 trived all they could to prevent an eruption by the way of the  
 continent. For so soon as they heard of the slaughter of those  
 with Leonidas at Thermopylæ, they drew together from their  
 cities to the isthmus, and put themselves under the conduct  
 of Cleombrotus<sup>m</sup> the son of Anaxandrides, and brother to  
 Leonidas. Being encamped there, they first fortified the  
 pass of Sciron<sup>n</sup> ; and afterwards having resolved to erect a

<sup>m</sup> This Cleombrotus died soon after.  
 See ix. 10.

<sup>n</sup> This road leads from Megaris to the  
 isthmus past the mountain of Sciron,

wall upon the isthmus, they brought that work to perfection; every man, of so many thousands that were in the army, performing his part, without exception: for they were all employed in carrying stones, bricks, timber, and baskets full of sand; working without intermission, both by night and by day.

LXXII. The Greeks who came with all their forces to succour the common cause at the isthmus were, the Lacedæmonians, all the Arcadians, the Eleans<sup>o</sup>, the Corinthians, the Sicyonians, the Epidaurians, the Phliasians, the Troezenians, and the Hermionians. These were the people who, very much alarmed at the dangers which threatened Greece, came to her assistance. But the rest of the Peloponnesians did not concern themselves about it, though the Olympian and Carnian solemnities were now past.

LXXIII. Peloponnesus is inhabited by seven nations; two of which are the Arcadians and the Cynurians; who, being originally of that country, have always dwelt in the same places they now possess. After these, the Achaïans; who, though they never abandoned the Peloponnesus<sup>p</sup>, yet left their ancient seat, and settled themselves in another. The remaining four are strangers; and consist of Dorians, Ætolians, Dryopians, and Lemnians. The cities of the Dorians are many and of great fame; the Ætolians<sup>q</sup> have only Elis: the Dryopians, Hermione and Asine, situate near Cardamyle<sup>r</sup> of Laconia, and the Paroreatæ<sup>s</sup>, are all Lemnians. The Cynurians, although Autocthones, alone appear to some to be Ionians; but in course of time they became Dorians after they fell under the power of the Argives, as well as the Orneatæ<sup>t</sup>,

(Strabo ix. p. 600.) which takes its name from the famous robber. He used to throw travellers headlong into the sea, or put them to death with great cruelty. He was killed by Theseus. *Larcher*.

<sup>o</sup> Pausanias (v. 4.) also says the Eleans joined in the confederacy against Xerxes. Diodorus Sic. (Excerpt. de Virtut. et Vitiis. tom ii. p. 54.) contradicts him.

<sup>p</sup> See the remarks at the end of book I.

<sup>q</sup> Pausanias also relates that Elis was peopled by the Ætolians, who set out from Calydon and the rest of Ætolia: but when he gives an account of the antiquities of that nation he says nothing about it. On the contrary, it appears that Ætolus, brother of Epeius, being obliged to fly on account of a murder he had committed, retired towards the Achelous, and gave his name to the country. Eleius having succeeded to his brother Epeius, called the people Eleans from

his own name, (Apollodor. i. 7. sect. 6.) who had before been called Epeans. I therefore do not see when the Ætolians established themselves in Elis; but I find (Apollodor. i. 7. sect. 5.) that Endymion, son of Æthlius and Calyce, led the Ætolians (i. e. the descendants of Æolus) from Thessaly and founded Elis. If we follow the first tradition of Pausanians, these Ætolians were properly Æolians. Calydon was anciently called Æolis. See Thucyd. iii. 102. I am therefore tempted to substitute Æolians for Ætolians. *Larch*.

<sup>r</sup> He adds of Laconia, to distinguish it from Cardamyle of Argolis.

<sup>s</sup> See book iv. ch. 145—48.

<sup>t</sup> Instead of *Ἰοντες Ὀρνειῆται*, which makes no sense, I read *ὡς τε Ὀρνειῆται*. The Argives subdued the Orneatæ and incorporated them with their nation. (Pausan. ii. 25.) We see also in Thucydides, (v. 41.) that the Argives de-



and their neighbours. Now, all the cities of these seven nations, except those I enumerated, did not interfere with either party; or rather, if I may speak with freedom, absented themselves, because they favoured the Medes.

**LXXIV.** The Greeks at the isthmus were occupied in the work above mentioned with great eagerness, as they were now contending for every thing, and as they did not expect to distinguish themselves by sea. On the other hand, those at Salamis were much disturbed when they heard these things, as being more concerned for Peloponnesus than for themselves. They first began to whisper to one another, and to wonder at the imprudence of Eurybiades; till at last breaking out into open murmurings, a council of war was called, and a long debate arose. Some said they ought to sail for Peloponnesus, and hazard a battle for that country, rather than to stay and fight for a place already in the power of the enemy. But the Athenians, the Æginetæ, and the Megareans, voted to stay and fight at Salamis.

**LXXV.** Then Themistocles, seeing his opinion overpowered by the Peloponnesians, went privately out of the council, and sent away a man to the enemy's fleet, in a small vessel, having instructed him what to say. The name of the man was Sicinnus; he was one of his domestics, and had the care of instructing his sons; and in succeeding time, when the Thespians augmented the number of their citizens, Themistocles procured him to be made a citizen of Thespia, and gave him considerable riches. This person, arriving in the boat, delivered his message to the Barbarian generals in these words: "The captain of the Athenians, (who is in the interest of the king, and desires your affairs may prosper, rather than those of Greece,) has sent me privately away, with orders to let you know, that the Greeks in great consternation have determined to betake themselves to flight; and you have now an opportunity of achieving the most glorious of all enterprises, unless through negligence you suffer them to escape. For being divided in their opinions, they will not oppose your forces; but you will see those who are your friends, fighting against those who are not of your party." Sicinnus, having thus delivered his message, departed immediately.

**LXXVI.** As these tidings appeared worthy of credit, they first landed a considerable number of Persians in Psyttalea, an island lying between Salamis and the continent; and afterwards, when midnight arrived, they led out their ships towards

Salamis", in order to surround the western wing of the Greeks; whilst those who were about Ceos and Cynosura<sup>x</sup> sailed out and covered the whole of the frith as far as Mynychia with their ships. They drew out their fleet in this manner, in order that the Greeks might have no way to escape; but being shut up in Salamis, might suffer punishment for the battles at Artemisium; and they landed the Persians in Psyttalea, to the end that, as they expected the most part of the disabled ships and distressed men would be driven thither, because that island is situate in the straight where the battle was like to be fought, they might be ready to save whatever they thought fit, and to destroy the rest. But these things they did secretly, in order that the enemy might not perceive them, and passed the whole night without sleep in making all necessary preparations.

LXXVII. When I reflect on these events, I have nothing to say against the truth of oracles; resolving not to attempt to invalidate so manifest a prediction.

When circling ships shall join the sacred shore  
Of Artemis to Cynosura's coast,  
Just vengeance then fastidious Pride<sup>y</sup> shall quench,  
True son of Insolence, who, vainly proud  
Of ravaged Athens, insolently thought  
That all must stoop<sup>z</sup> to his audacious rage.  
For clashing brass shall meet<sup>a</sup>, and Mars shall stain  
The foaming billows with a purple gore.  
Then Saturn's son and victory shall bring  
A glorious day of liberty to Greece.

These words of Bacis are so clear, that I dare not dispute the veracity of oracles myself, nor shall admit the objections of others.

LXXVIII. In the mean time the generals at Salamis continued their debates with great contention, not knowing that they were surrounded by the ships of the Barbarians. But they supposed that the enemy's ships were in the same place as they had seen them stationed in during the day.

LXXIX. Whilst they were still disputing, Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, came over from Ægina. He was an Athenian, but had been banished by ostracism<sup>b</sup>; though, as

<sup>u</sup> The best idea of this engagement will be obtained in the chart annexed to the Travels of Anacharsis the younger.

<sup>x</sup> Cynosura is a promontory of Attica, S.E. of Brauron, and N.E. of Prasias.

<sup>y</sup> Κόρος signifies the fastidiousness arising from satiety. Pindar (Olymp. xiii. 12.) makes Insolence the mother of Satiety, (κόρος.) Wesseling.

<sup>z</sup> Wesseling reads ἀνὰ πᾶντα πύθεται, in which he is followed by Larcher,

who translates it, "S'imaginer faire retourner l'univers entier de son nom." Ἀνὰ πᾶντα ῥιθισθαι, which is Schweighæuser's reading, is the same as ἀνὰ ῥιθισθαι πᾶντα, to overturn every thing, to turn them upside down; as if he had said, ἀνω κάτω ῥιθισθαι. Compare iii. 3. 11. See Schweighæuser's note.

<sup>a</sup> This alludes to the brazen prows of the ships.

<sup>b</sup> Ostracism is a Greek word derived



far as I have learnt of his manners, he was the best and justest man in Athens. This person, coming to the place where the council sat, sent for Themistocles out, who was not his friend, but rather the fiercest of his enemies; yet the greatness of the impending danger made him forget their former enmity, and he called him out in order to confer with him; for he had already heard that the Peloponnesians were desirous to retire with the fleet to the isthmus. When Themistocles came out, Aristides said, "We ought at this time, and on all occasions, to contend, who shall do the greatest service to our country. I assure you, that to say little or much to the Peloponnesians about their departure is the same thing; for I tell you, as an eye-witness, that neither Eurybiades himself, nor the Corinthians, can now retire, if they would; because we are on all sides inclosed by the enemy's fleet. Go in again, therefore, and acquaint the council with these things."

LXXX. Themistocles answered, "Your admonition is exceedingly favourable, and the news you bring most acceptable. For you tell me you have seen that, which I desired should come to pass above all things. Know then, that what the Medes have done, proceeds from me. For necessity required, that those Greeks who would not fight voluntarily, should be compelled to an engagement against their will. But since you have brought so good news, let the council hear it from yourself; because, if I should be the reporter, they would think it a fiction, and I shall not persuade them any more, than if the Barbarians were doing no such thing. Go in, therefore, and inform them of the fact: if they believe you, nothing better can happen; if not, we are still in the same condition; for they have no way open to escape by flight, if, as you say, we are already encompassed on all sides."

LXXXI. Accordingly Aristides going in, gave the same account to the council, acquainting them that he came from

from *ὄστρακον*, a shell. It was a process established at Athens, by which they usually exiled for ten years (five according to Diodorus Siculus, xi. 55.) those whom they thought too powerful, or whose fame and riches they dreaded. Ostracism was invented after the Athenians had been freed from the yoke of the Pisistratidæ; by means of it they got rid of those whom they thought capable of destroying the popular government.

For this judgment the forum was inclosed with planks, in which were ten

gates; the people entered by tribes, and each put into the urn his *ostrakon*, on which his vote was written. If six thousand votes were found against the accused, he was forced to leave the city within ten days. Without that number he was not condemned. This exile differed from banishment in three points: it was only for a time, the place was assigned, and the property was not confiscated. Ostracism was deemed honorable, and was not, like banishment, imposed by judges, after a mature examination for any crime. *Bellanger.*

Ægina, after he had with great difficulty made his passage, and eluded the vigilance of the enemy's stations, for the whole Grecian fleet was surrounded by the ships of Xerxes. He counselled them therefore to prepare themselves with all diligence for their defence; and when he had said this, he retired. A dispute however again arose among the generals, for the greater part gave no credit to the tidings.

LXXXII. Whilst they thus doubted, a Tenian ship, commanded by Panætius the son of Socimenes, deserted and came over to them, and discovered the whole truth; and for that action the name of the Tenians was engraved upon the tripod<sup>c</sup> consecrated at Delphi, among those who defeated the Barbarian. By the addition of this ship, and that of Lemnos, which came over before at Artemisium<sup>d</sup>, the Grecian fleet now amounted to three hundred and eighty sail; for before they wanted two of that number.

LXXXIII. The Grecians at length believing the account they received from the Tenians, prepared for an engagement; and when the day dawned they called a general assembly of the Epibatæ; in which Themistocles, above all the other captains, delivered an animated harangue. During the whole of his discourse he made a parallel between good and bad things, and exhorted them to choose the best of all those things, which depended on the nature and condition of man. When he had finished his speech, he gave orders<sup>e</sup> for them to go on board; while they were doing this the ship they had sent to Ægina, with orders concerning the Æacidæ, returned to Salamis; and then the whole Grecian fleet advanced.

LXXXIV. While they were advancing, the Barbarians immediately fell upon them, and the Greeks began to back water and run their ships a-shore; but Aminias, an Athenian of the borough of Pallene, breaking out of the line, darted upon an enemy; and when his ship became entangled with the other, and they could not get clear, the other ships came out to his assistance and thus began the engagement. But the Æginetæ affirm, that the ship which went to Ægina with the instructions about the Æacidæ, was the first engaged. There is also a report that a phantom appeared in the shape of a woman, encouraging the Grecians with so loud a voice, that she was heard by all the fleet, after she had first reproached them in these words; "Infatuated men! how long will you back water."

<sup>c</sup> This tripod was of gold, and the names of all those people who assisted in overthrowing the Persians were engraved upon it. See Thucydides, book i. ch. 132.

<sup>d</sup> See ch. xi.

<sup>e</sup> This order of Themistocles is only addressed, as his speech to the Athenians. The other commanders doubtless gave similar orders. *Larcher.*



LXXXV. The Phœnicians were posted opposite the Athenians, and occupied the wing which was to the westward towards Eleusis. The Ionians were ranged on the other point, facing the Lacedæmonians, and stretching towards the east and the Piræus. Of these some few, persuaded by the exhortations of Themistocles<sup>f</sup>, voluntarily omitted to perform their part. Yet the greatest number did their best: and I could give the names of many captains who took Grecian ships, though I shall mention no more than Theomestor the son of Androdamas, and Phylacus the son of Histiaëus, both Samians. I name these two because Theomestor was afterwards made tyrant of Samos by the Persians, for his service on this occasion; and Phylacus was not only enrolled in the number of the king's benefactors<sup>g</sup>, who are called in the Persian language Oro-sangæ, but rewarded with large possessions in land. And such were the recompences of these two commanders.

LXXXVI. A greater part of the enemy's fleet<sup>h</sup> was shattered at Salamis, being destroyed by the Athenians and the Æginetæ. For as the Greeks observed so good order, and such a steady conduct in the fight, whilst the Barbarians fought in a disorderly manner, and without judgment, such an event would naturally turn out. Yet the enemy shewed far more courage that day than they had done before on the coast of Eubœa, and surpassed themselves; every one exerting himself vigorously, in fear of the king's displeasure, because each imagined that his actions were observed by him.

LXXXVII. I cannot exactly relate<sup>i</sup> how each particular

<sup>f</sup> See ch. xxii.

<sup>g</sup> They used to write down in registers the names of those who had rendered any service to the king. See the letter of Xerxes to Pausanias, in Thucydides, i. 129. Mordecai, who had informed Ahasuerus of a conspiracy concerning his life, was inscribed in the Chronicles, and was in course of time rewarded. (Esther, vi. ver. 1. &c.) Larcher.

<sup>h</sup> A comet appeared during this battle; *cervatis cornus speciem habet, qualis fuit cum Græcia apud Salamina depugnavit.* Pliny, Hist. Nat. ii. 25. This battle took place in the first year of the 75th Olympiad, on the 20th of the month Boedromion, or on the 30th of September, 480 B. C. Larcher.

Dodwell (Annal. Thucyd.) makes the engagement to have taken place on the 20th of October.

<sup>i</sup> In considering Herodotus's account of this celebrated sea fight, we find not less reason, than on former occasions, to praise his scrupulous honesty and mo-

desty. His narrative is dubious and incomplete, as all faithful narratives of great battles must be, unless some eyewitness, very peculiarly qualified by knowledge and situation, be the relator. We cannot therefore but regret, not indeed that Æschylus was a poet, but that prose-writing was yet in his age so little common, that his poetical sketch of this great transaction is the most authoritative, the clearest, and the most consistent, of any that has passed to posterity. Concerning a day, however, so glorious, so singularly interesting to Greece, and particularly to Athens, anecdotes would undoubtedly abound; and an historian, a few years only later, desirous to shine in description rather than to relate the truth, could not have wanted materials. Anecdotes indeed of particular circumstances in great battles may often be authenticated; and to these Herodotus has chiefly confined himself; avoiding a detail of the battle at large, with an express declaration that he could obtain none upon

person, either of the Greeks or Barbarians, behaved himself in this engagement; but an adventure happened to Artemisia, which served to augment her credit with Xerxes. For when the king's affairs were in the utmost confusion, the ship of Artemisia was chased by an Athenian ship, and not being able to escape, because she had those of her own party in front, and her own happened to be very close to the adverse fleet, she resolved to do a thing which turned to her great advantage. As she was pursued by the Athenian, she drove directly upon a ship of her own side, belonging to the Calyndians, and having their king Damasithymus on board; but whether, on account of any quarrel they had while at the Hellespont, she purposely run down his ship; or whether the Calyndians were in her way by accident, I cannot affirm; however, she darted upon it, and sunk it, and had the good fortune to reap a double advantage by that blow. For the captain of the Athenian ship, when he saw her darting on a Barbarian vessel, concluding Artemisia's ship to be a Grecian<sup>k</sup>, or at least one that had deserted from the enemy and was assisting the Greeks, gave over the chase, and turned towards the others.

LXXXVIII. By which means Artemisia not only escaped the danger, but advanced her reputation with Xerxes, though she had done him an injury. For they say, that when the king, who was spectator of the exploit, had taken notice of the ship which gave the shock, one of those about him<sup>l</sup> said, "Sir, you see with what courage Artemisia fights, and has sunk one of the enemy's ships." Then the king asking, if indeed Artemisia had done that action? they answered, that they knew the figure at the prow perfectly well; and they also had no doubt but that the sunk ship was an enemy. For to the rest of her good fortune, which I mentioned before, this also was added, that none of the company belonging to the Calyndian ship survived to accuse her. So that when Xerxes heard their answer, he is reported to have said, "My men have fought like women, and my women like men<sup>m</sup>."

LXXXIX. In this battle Ariabignes<sup>n</sup>, the son of Darius

which he could rely. Mitford's Greece, viii. 5.

<sup>k</sup> Polyænus (Stratagem. viii. 53. § 1.) relates that Artemisia caused her Persian ensign to be taken down; a circumstance omitted by Herodotus, but which adds much to the probability of the story. *Larcher*.

<sup>l</sup> According to Ptolemy, it was Draco, the son of Eupompus of Samos. His sight was so acute that he could distinguish objects at the distance of twenty stades. Xerxes gave him a thousand talents to accompany him on this expe-

dition. (Diodorus Siculus, xi. 18.) He sat by Xerxes and related all that passed between the two fleets. *Larcher*.

<sup>m</sup> Ennius has imitated this in the well-known lines;

"Vos etenim, juvenes, animum, geritis  
" muliebre,  
" Illa virago viri."

Many similar expressions are to be found in Greek and Latin writers. Compare also chap. lxviii.

<sup>n</sup> This Ariabignes is the same as the Ariamenes of Plutarch, (in Themist. p.



and brother of Xerxes, was killed, with great numbers of illustrious men, as well Persians and Medes as their confederates. On the part of the Greeks the slaughter was not great; because those who lost their ships, and did not perish by the hands of the Barbarians, as they were skilful in swimming, reached Salamis; whereas many of the Barbarians, being ignorant of that art, perished in the sea. The greatest loss the enemy sustained began after their headmost ships were put to flight; for those who lay a-stern, endeavouring to pass on to the front, that they might shew the king some proof of their courage, fell foul upon their own flying ships.

XC. In this confusion, some Phœnicians, whose ships were destroyed, going to the king, accused the Ionians of having betrayed him, and that they thus had been the cause of the destruction of their ships. It however turned out that the Ionian captains were not put to death, but that those Phœnicians who accused them, received the following reward. For whilst they were yet speaking, a Samothracian ship attacking one of Attica, sunk it; and a ship of Ægina coming up in that instant, sunk the Samothracian. But the Samothracians being armed with javelins, poured in such a shower from the sinking vessel, that they drove the Epibatæ from the deck, jumped into it and got possession of it. This success saved the Ionians: for Xerxes having seen them perform so great an action, turned about to the Phœnicians; and being above measure troubled, and ready to fling the blame every where, commanded their heads to be struck off, that they might no more accuse those who were braver, while they themselves had acted cowardly. He sat upon the descent of a hill called Ægaleos°, over against Salamis; and whenever he saw a remarkable action done in the fight by any one of his officers, he made inquiry concerning the man, and caused his secretaries to write down his name, his family, and his country. Ariaramnes also, a Persian nobleman, and a friend to the Ionians, who happened to be present, contributed<sup>p</sup> by his accusations to the misfortune of the Phœnicians.

XCI. Whilst they were attending to the Phœnicians, the Barbarians had betaken themselves to flight, and were sailing away to Phalerum; and then the Æginetæ waiting for them in their passage through the straits, gave memorable proof of their valour: and as the Athenians destroyed those which

119.) and as the Artobazanes in our author, book vii. ch. 2. *Wesseling*.

° The ancients differ concerning the place from which Xerxes beheld the battle of Salamis. Herodotus is followed by the Scholiast on Æschylus, by Tzetzes or Lycophron, p. 142. and by Ulpian on

Demosthenes Timocrat. p. 466. *Wesseling*.

<sup>p</sup> The verb λαβέσθαι and its compounds always govern a genitive case; the objection of Schultz, that προσλαβέσθαι is never taken in a bad sense, can have no weight here, for the construction is

were flying and those which ventured to resist; the Æginetæ did no less execution upon those, which escaped out of the battle. So that for the most part, when any ship happened to escape the Athenians, they fell into the hands of the Æginetæ.

**XCII.** At this time the ship of Themistocles giving chase to one of the enemy, came up with another commanded by Polycritus of Ægina the son of Crius, which had fallen upon a Sidonian ship, the same that took the ship of the Æginetæ<sup>q</sup>, which was keeping watch near Sciathus, with Pytheas the son of Ischenous on board; who being covered with wounds, was exempted from death by the Persians, in admiration of his valour, and kept prisoner in the ship. In this action the Sidonian ship was taken with all the men on board, and by that means Pytheas returned safe to Ægina. But when Polycritus<sup>r</sup> saw the Athenian ship, which he knew to be the admiral's ship by the figure, he called out to Themistocles and rallied him in a cutting manner, upbraiding him with the attachment of the Æginetæ to the Medes. He threw out these reproaches on Themistocles, when attacking the Sidonian ship. In the mean time, those Barbarians, whose ships were not destroyed, fled and remained at Phalerum, under the protection of the land army.

**XCIII.** Among the Grecians that fought this battle, the Æginetæ were most commended; and next to these, the Athenians: among the captains, Polycritus of Ægina; and among the Athenians, Eumenes of the Anagyrasian, with Aminias<sup>s</sup> of the Pallenian ward; who gave chase to Artemisia; and if he had known she had been in the ship, would not have given over the pursuit, till either he had taken her, or she him. For the Athenians had given orders to that purpose to all their captains, and promised a reward of ten thousand drachmas to the person who should take her alive; resenting with great indignation, that a woman should make war against Athens. But, as I said<sup>t</sup> before, she made her escape, and the rest, whose ships survived, lay at Phalerum.

**XCIV.** The Athenians say<sup>t</sup> that Adimantus, the Corinthian

προσελάβετο αὐτοῖς, (scil. τοῖς Ἴωνι) τοῦτον τοῦ Φωιν. πάθος: gave his assistance to the Ionians, to turn the calamity from them on the heads of the Phœnicians. Schweigh.

<sup>q</sup> See book vii. ch. 181.

<sup>r</sup> See the accusation brought against his father Crius, book vi. ch. 50. 73. That accusation occasioned the recrimination of Polycritus.

<sup>s</sup> This Aminias was brother to the great tragedian Æschylus. Diodor. Siculus, xi. 27.

<sup>t</sup> Dion Chrysostom (in Corinth. p. 456.) relates that our historian, not having received the recompence he expected from the Corinthians, to whom he had recited what he had written in their praise, related their conduct at Salamis, and also that of Adimantus, in a different manner. Plutarch attributes it to his malignity, and, if what Dion Chrysostom says were true, Plutarch would not have omitted it. I am more inclined to believe that he wished to gratify the Athenians, then at enmity with Corinth. Plutarch



general, struck with alarm and great fear in the beginning of the fight, put up all his sails, and betook himself to flight; that the Corinthians seeing their admiral's ship flying, bore away after him; and when they had arrived off the temple of Minerva Sciras<sup>a</sup>, on the coast of Salamis, a light bark fell in with them by the guidance of heaven, for no one appeared to have sent it; and that it came up to the Corinthians, who were in ignorance of every thing relating to their fleet. They concluded the thing to be divine; for as soon as the bark came up with their ships, those on board cried out, "Adimantus, thou hast by thy flight deprived the Grecians of the assistance of these ships, and art a traitor to Greece; yet know, they are conquering their enemies, as completely as they desired." That finding Adimantus gave no credit to their words, they added, that they would be contented to remain as hostages, and be put to death, if the Greeks were not victorious: upon which Adimantus with the rest of the Corinthians returned to the fleet, but came not in till the work was done. This is affirmed of them by the Athenians; yet the Corinthians deny the fact, and affirm, they signalized themselves as much as any in this engagement, and the rest of Greece bears testimony to their assertion.

XCV. Whilst things were in this confusion on the coast of Salamis, Aristides the son of Lysimachus, the Athenian, mentioned by me a little before as a most excellent person, taking with him a considerable number of Athenian soldiers, who were drawn up along that shore, passed over to Psytalea<sup>a</sup>, and put to the sword all the Persians he found in the island.

XCVI. The Greeks, after the engagement by sea was over, brought to Salamis all the wreck that continued floating about that coast, and prepared for another battle, expecting the king would make use of his remaining ships to that end. But the greater part of the broken vessels were carried by a west wind to the shore of Colias in Attica; so that not only those

(p. 370.) with reason opposes to Herodotus the silence of Thucydides, the offerings made at Delphi, the vow of the women of Corinth, the Inscriptions of Simonides, and other poets, of which our historian could not be ignorant. I add, that if Herodotus had been influenced by either of the imputed motives, he would not have opposed to the Athenian account the testimony of the whole of Greece. *Larcher*.

The Epigrams and Inscriptions of Simonides, and the others alluded to, are preserved by Brunck, in his *Analecta*, tom. i. p. 132. Nos. 36, 37, 39, and 40.

<sup>a</sup> Salamis was formerly called Sciras, (Strabo, ix. p. 603.) from a hero of that name. Minerva was honoured under that name in the island, whence came the sacrifice, called at Athens Episcirosis; and the month Scirophorion, which corresponds with our June. The hero Sciras (Pausan. i. 36.) was an augur, who came from Dodona to find Erectheus, during the war, which the Thracians, who were in possession of Eleusis, were waging against that prince. *Larcher*.

<sup>x</sup> This agrees with Plutarch (in Aristid. p. 323.) and with Æschylus, (Pers. v. 447—464.)

predictions of Bacis<sup>y</sup> and Musæus<sup>z</sup>, concerning the success of the sea fight, were fulfilled; but that also relating to the wrecks which were drifted on that shore, which many years before had been delivered in these terms by Lysistratus, an Athenian augur, but had not been understood by any one:

The Colian dames shall shudder at the oars<sup>a</sup>.

This was to happen after the departure of the king.

XCVII. When Xerxes was informed of the loss<sup>b</sup> he had sustained, he began to fear lest some of the Ionians might suggest to the Greeks, or lest they themselves might resolve to sail to the Hellespont, to break the bridges, and lest he himself, being thus cut off in Europe, might be in danger of perishing. Under these apprehensions he meditated on flying; but being willing to conceal his intentions both from the Greeks and from his own forces, he attempted to throw a mound across to Salamis<sup>c</sup>; and having fastened together the Phœnician tenders, to serve for a bridge and a rampart, he prepared all things, as if he designed to fight another battle at sea. Every one that saw him thus employed, firmly believed he had seriously prepared to stay, and to carry on the war; but his designs did not escape the notice of Mardonius, since he was best acquainted with his thoughts. Whilst Xerxes was making these preparations, he dispatched a message to the Persians, with an account of the misfortune which had befallen him.

XCVIII. There is nothing among mortals<sup>d</sup> which arrives sooner at the end of its journey, than these couriers. It has

<sup>y</sup> See note on ch. xx.

<sup>z</sup> There were several of this name. The one here mentioned was an Athenian, and of Eleusis, and son of Antiphemus. He wrote precepts in verse to his son Eumolpus, (see Pausanias, x. 5.) He also composed certain oracles, which were attributed to Onomacritus. *Larch.*

<sup>a</sup> All the manuscripts have *φριζουσι*: yet Larcher, Schæfer, and Borheck have adopted *φρύζουσι*, shall roast *their food*; which reading is recommended by Valckenaer and Wesseling. Larcher translates *φρύζουσι feront griller l'orge*: and adds in a note, that before they had slaves, the women used to grind barley for food, and roast it.

<sup>b</sup> "I have been informed by a Mede," says Dion Chrysostom, (Orat. xi. p. 191.) "that the Persians do not agree to what is reported by the Greeks. They affirm, that Xerxes vanquished the Lacedæmonians at Thermopylæ, and killed their king; that he made himself master of Athens, reduced all the inha-

bitants whom he found there to slavery, and finally returned to Asia, after having imposed a tribute on the Greeks. It is evident that this recital is false; but it is not impossible, nay, it is very probable, that the king caused this to be told the Asiatic nations, in order that they might not be alarmed."

This battle, so glorious for the Greeks, and particularly for the Athenians, gave wings to their valour and their genius. *Larcher.*

<sup>c</sup> This frith was only two stadia across, according to Strabo, (ix. p. 605.) who supposed, that the king began this work before the battle; which was also the opinion of Ctesias Pers. c. 26. *Wesseling.*

<sup>d</sup> *Θνητὸν ἔδν*, is opposed to the Gods, whose swiftness equals thought. Valckenaer asks, whether pigeons, which were formerly used to carry letters, are not quicker, and therefore proposes to read *ἀνθρωπῆιον*, &c. Larcher and Schweighæuser both doubt whether pigeons were generally used for that purpose.



been thus managed\* by the Persians. As many days as are occupied in going the whole journey, say they, so many horses and men are posted at the regular intervals of a day's journey. Neither snow, rain, heat nor darkness prevents them from performing their proper distance as quick as possible. The first of these couriers delivers his orders to the second, the second to the third, and so it passes from one to the other as far as the last; as the torch in the lampadephonia<sup>f</sup>, which is performed in honour of Vulcan, passes from hand to hand among the Greeks. And this regular course of horses the Persians call Angarion.

XCIX. The first message which was brought to Susa from Xerxes, with the news that he had taken Athens, caused so great joy among the Persians who had been left there, that they strewed all the streets with myrtle, burnt perfumes, sacrificed, and were occupied with festivity and luxury. But the second messenger arriving, put them all into such a consternation, that they tore their clothes<sup>g</sup>, and with incessant howlings and lamentations, threw all the blame upon Mardonius: the Persians acted thus, not so much from sorrow for the disaster of the fleet, as from fear for the king's person; and continued in their fears during all the time that passed between this message and the return of Xerxes.

C. In the mean time Mardonius<sup>h</sup>, seeing Xerxes much afflicted at the unhappy event of the sea fight, and suspecting he was meditating his escape from Attica, began to think with himself, that he should suffer punishment, as he had persuaded the king to make war against Greece; and therefore that it would be more advantageous to him to try the chance of war, and either to conquer Greece, or die with glory, as he had been excited by the hope of great achievements. Reflecting upon these things, and inclining to believe he might subdue Greece, he

<sup>e</sup> This system was originally invented by Cyrus. See Xenophon *Cyr. Institut.* viii. 6. sect. 9; whose description agrees with our Author.

<sup>f</sup> See note on vi. 105.

<sup>g</sup> This was the custom among the Orientals, of which we meet with a hundred examples in Holy Writ. See also the Persæ of Æschylus, ver. 53. et passim. *Larcher.*

<sup>h</sup> It is impossible here not to wish for those Persian histories of these great events, which probably once existed, and which a learned orientalist of our country (Richardson) would flatter us with the hope of still recovering: but we most wish for them when the Persian counsels become particularly interesting, of which the Grecian historian has un-

dertaken to give a detail that could not come to him duly authenticated. We might draw, even from the flatterer of a despot, some information of which the total wreck of Persian literature hath deprived us. Yet, although the speeches, which Herodotus puts into the mouth of Persian cabinet-counsellors, must be as fictitious as those which Livy attributes to his fellow-countrymen at the head of armies, yet large means were certainly open, for Greeks of rank and character, to know the manners of the Persian great, and even to pry into the politics of the empire, as far perhaps as the Persians themselves: for under a despotic government the counsels which direct the greatest affairs are generally open to very few. *Mitford's Greece*, viii. 5.

addressed himself to the king in these words: "Sire, be not  
"disturbed, nor think you have received so great a loss by the  
"late action; for a contest of timber has not the greatest in-  
"fluence over the issue of the war, but one of men and horses.  
"None of those, who imagine they have given us a finishing  
"blow, will quit their ships to appear against you in arms by  
"land, neither have we any thing to fear from those of the conti-  
"nent; for those who have opposed us, have offered sufficient  
"punishment. If then you think fit, let us immediately make  
"an attempt upon Peloponnesus; or if you had rather take  
"time to consider of that enterprise, you may do so without  
"hazard: only be not discouraged; for the Greeks have no  
"way to exempt themselves from rendering a severe account  
"of their past and present actions, and from becoming your  
"servants. In this manner I would especially advise you  
"to act: but if you have determined to return and to with-  
"draw the army, I have other counsel to offer on that sub-  
"ject. Above all things, O king, do not suffer the Persians  
"to be exposed to the derision of the Greeks; for they have  
"brought no disaster upon your affairs, nor can you charge us  
"with want of courage on any occasion. If the Phoenicians,  
"Egyptians, Cyprians, and Cilicians, have behaved them-  
"selves ill, this disaster does not regard us, and ought not to  
"be imputed to us. Since therefore the Persians cannot be  
"justly blamed, let me persuade you; if you have resolved  
"not to stay here, do you return to your home, and take with  
"you the greatest part of the army; but leave me three hun-  
"dred thousand chosen men, and I take upon me to deliver  
"to you Greece reduced to slavery."

CI. Xerxes, when he heard these words, was greatly de-  
lighted, as after great troubles; and he told Mardonius he  
would consider his propositions, and let him know which of the  
two he would adopt. While he was deliberating with the  
Persians he had convoked, he thought fit to send for Artemi-  
sia, in order to consult with her also, because she alone,  
he found, had before understood the measures that ought to  
have been taken. When Artemisia came, Xerxes ordered  
his counsellors and guards to withdraw, and spoke to her in  
these terms: "Mardonius encourages me to stay here, and  
"to attack Peloponnesus; telling me, that no disaster can be  
"imputed to the Persians and the land army; but that they  
"wish for an occasion to give me demonstration of their va-  
"lour. This enterprise he counsels me to attempt; or else,  
"with three hundred thousand men chosen out of my forces,  
"he himself proposes to enslave Greece for me, and desires  
"I would return home with the rest of the army. Do you,  
"therefore, who gave me such prudent counsel in dissuading



“ me from hazarding a battle at sea, advise me now, by adopting which measure, I shall have consulted best for my affairs.”

CII. To this demand Artemisia answered: “ O king, it is a difficult matter for me to say<sup>i</sup> what may be best for you who now ask my advice. However, in the present state of things, I am of opinion you should return home, and leave Mardonius here with the troops he requires, if he will take this enterprise upon him. For, on the one hand, if he conquers these countries, as he promises, and all things succeed to his mind, the achievement, Sire, will be yours, because your servants have accomplished it. But, on the other hand, if contrary to the expectation of Mardonius, the event should prove unprosperous, the misfortune cannot be great, so long as you survive, and your own affairs are safe at home. For whilst you and your house are in being, the Grecians will be often driven to run the utmost hazards to preserve themselves. So that whatever disaster may fall upon Mardonius is of no importance; neither will the Greeks, if they are victorious, gain any signal victory in destroying your slave. But do you, since you have burnt Athens, which was the thing you proposed to do in this expedition, now return home.”

CIII. This counsel being so agreeable to the inclination of Xerxes, pleased him exceedingly; for his fears were so great, that if all the men and women of the world had advised him to stay, I believe he would never have consented. After he had applauded the wisdom of Artemisia, he sent her to conduct to Ephesus some of his natural sons, who had accompanied him in his expedition.

CIV. With these children he sent Hermotimus to protect them, by descent a Pedasian, and among the eunuchs inferior to none in the king's favour. The Pedasians inhabit<sup>k</sup> above Halicarnassus; and it is said that when any calamity is, within a certain time, to fall upon themselves and all those who live about their city, a great beard shoots from the chin of Minerva's priestess; which prodigy has been seen twice<sup>l</sup> in that place.

CV. Hermotimus then, as I said, was sprung from these Pedasians; and of all the men we know, revenged himself in the

<sup>i</sup> Τυχὲν εἴπασαν does not differ from εἶπαι. Wesseling.

<sup>k</sup> The whole of this passage, which is the same as in book i. ch. 175. reasonably appeared to Valckenaer to have been spuriously inserted here.—1. The style is somewhat different from that of Herodotus. 2. Strabo appears only to

have read the one in the 1st book. 3. It is in its place in that book, and if Herodotus had wished to repeat it, it would have been more convenient to have done so in book vi. ch. 20. Larcher. For the differences in style, see Valckenaer's note.

<sup>l</sup> In book i. ch. 175. he says thrice.

severest manner for an injury he had received. He was taken by an enemy, and sold to one Panionius a Chian, who gained a livelihood by a most impious practice. For whenever he purchased boys of great beauty<sup>m</sup>, he castrated them, and sold them at Sardis and Ephesus for immense sums; because the Barbarians set a greater value upon eunuchs than upon others, on account of their fidelity in all respects<sup>n</sup>. Panionius, as he lived by this means, had castrated many others, and among them this Hermotimus; he, however, not being unfortunate in every thing, was sent from Sardis with other presents to the king; and in time became the greatest favourite of all his eunuchs.

CVI. Whilst Xerxes was at Sardis, preparing to lead his army against Athens, Hermotimus went, for some reason I know not what, to Atarneus, a town of Mysia, possessed by the Chians<sup>o</sup>, and found Panionius there. After he had recognized him, he addressed him with great friendship, and having first acquainted him with the many felicities he had acquired by his means, he next promised him great things in requital, if he would come to his house, and bring his sons with him. Panionius heard all this with satisfaction, and accordingly came with his wife and children. But when Hermotimus saw the whole family in his power, he said, "O thou, who hast gained a livelihood, by the most infamous acts, that any man has ever yet practised, what harm had I, or any of my ancestors, done to thee, or thine, that of a man, thou hast made me nothing? Thy opinion surely was, that thy machinations would pass unobserved by the Gods; but they, for thy crimes, have now enticed<sup>p</sup> thee into my hands with so much justice, that thou canst have no colour to complain of the punishment I shall inflict upon thee." When he had thus upbraided him, he ordered his four sons to be brought in, and compelled the father to mutilate them himself. Panionius, constrained by inevitable necessity, did as he com-

<sup>m</sup> Εἶδος ἐπαμύνους. Formâ præditos. Ἐπαμύνους is by the Ionic dialect put for ἐφημύνους, which is the perf. part. pass. from ἐφάρτειν, adligare, suspendere.

<sup>n</sup> Larcher quotes the following from "Chardin, (Voyages, tom. ii. p. 159.) Having no connexion with any one but the master who has bought them, eunuchs have neither tenderness nor pity; but for this same reason, they feel an incomparable attachment towards their master, and do for him, what another would do for his best friend, his parents, for his children, for his wife and country, because their master occupies

"the place of all these: so that I do not think, that fidelity of eunuchs, so celebrated in history, as very worthy of praise, but rather as a simple effect of their wretched condition. They doubtless serve one better and are less deceitful, but they are also cruel and revengeful."

<sup>o</sup> The Persians had given Atarneus to the people of Chios, to recompence them for having delivered Pactyas up to them. See book i. ch. 160.

<sup>p</sup> Ὑπάγειν signifies properly to draw any one to you by a bait, as a lamb by offering it grass. Larcher.



manded; and, after he had done, his sons were forced to do the same to him. In this manner Hermotimus was revenged, and Panionius punished in the way he deserved<sup>q</sup>.

CVII. Xerxes having committed his sons to Artemisia's care, in order to be conducted to Ephesus, sent for Mardonius, and bid him choose what forces he would out of the army, and endeavour to make his actions correspond with his promises. Nothing more was done that day; but in the night, the generals, by the king's order, sailed with the fleet from Phalerum, making towards the Hellespont, with all possible diligence, to preserve the bridges, for him to cross<sup>r</sup> in his return. The Barbarians, as they sailed by Zoster<sup>s</sup>, imagining the little promontories which run out from that coast to be ships of war, fled for a considerable time; but afterwards, perceiving they were promontories, and not ships, they collected together, and pursued their voyage.

CVIII. The next morning, the Greeks, seeing the enemy's land forces still encamped in the same place, supposed their fleet to be at Phalerum; and therefore, in expectation of another engagement, prepared to defend themselves; but when they were informed of their departure, they presently determined to sail in quest of them. But coming up to Andros, without having discovered any of the enemy's ships, they called a council of war; in which Themistocles moved, that, shaping their pursuit by the way of the islands, they would make directly to the Hellespont, and destroy the bridges. But Eurybiades was of a contrary opinion, and said, that if they broke the bridges, they would do the greatest possible harm to Greece; for if the Persian, intercepted by that means, should be constrained to continue in Europe, he would endeavour not to be inactive, because by inaction he could neither advance his affairs, nor open a way to his return; but his army must inevitably perish by want: that if he should be the aggressor, and enter upon action, all the cities and nations of Europe must probably become an accession to his empire, either by force or by a preceding agreement; and for provisions, the annual produce of Greece would furnish him sufficiently: that being of opinion Xerxes would not willingly

<sup>q</sup> " Qui primus pueris genitalia membra recidit

" Vulnera quæfecit, debuit ipse pati.

Ovid. Am. ii. El. iii. 3, 4.

<sup>r</sup> The construction of this sentence is this, διαφυλάσσουνσαι βασιλεῖ (ὥστε αὐτὸν) πορευθῆναι. Schweighæuser.

<sup>s</sup> It is said that Latona, when flying from the jealousy of Juno, being overtaken by the pangs of child-birth in this

spot, unfastened her Zone, from whence the place was called Zoster. Young women, from the time that they arrived at marriageable years, wore a girdle, which the bridegroom unfastened on the first night of the marriage; hence the expression *solvere zonam*. After their marriage they wore another girdle, until their first accouchement. Larcher.

continue in Europe after the defeat he had received at sea, he was for favouring his flight, till he should arrive in Asia : after which he advised them to carry the war thither, and compel him to fight for his own territories. To this opinion the other captains of the Peloponnesians unanimously adhered.

CIX. Themistocles, when he found he could not persuade at least the greater number to sail for the Hellespont, altered his opinion and addressed the Athenians, who of all the allies were most annoyed at the escape of the enemy, and were desirous to proceed thither alone with their own ships, if the rest should refuse to concur in that design. "I have myself frequently witnessed similar occasions," said he, "and much more often heard, that men, when reduced to necessity though conquered, have renewed the fight and repaired their former losses. Since therefore we have unexpectedly preserved ourselves and Greece, by having repelled such a cloud of men, let us no longer pursue those that fly : for this success is not owing to our own force, but to the Gods and to the heroes, who were too jealous to permit one man to be king both of Asia and Europe : a man of such impiety and insolence, that he burnt all places, sacred and profane, without distinction ; overthrew the images of the Gods ; and even scourged the sea, and threw into it fetters. Since then our affairs are in so good condition, and we have completely driven out the Barbarian, let us continue in Greece, and let us take care of ourselves and our families ; let every one repair his house and sow his lands with diligence ; and let us sail to the Hellespont and to Ionia at the beginning of the next spring." This turn Themistocles gave to his discourse, in order to insinuate himself into the favour of the Persian, that he might have a place of refuge if any misfortune should overtake him from the Athenians, as afterwards fell out<sup>x</sup>.

CX. Themistocles, though his words were deceitful, yet persuaded the Athenians ; for as he had been before considered a wise man, and had now given such manifest proofs of his consummate prudence and excellent counsels, they were entirely disposed to believe him in every thing. But after they had assented to his opinion, he presently sent off certain per-

<sup>t</sup> This advice of Themistocles has been imitated by several illustrious generals. Frontinus (ii. 6.) quotes, among other instances, the words of Scipio Africanus, *viam hostibus quâ fugiant esse muniendam*. A similar saying of Agesilaus is given by Polyænus, ii. 1. 6. *Valckenaer*.

<sup>u</sup> Ἀνακῶς ἐχέρω. This expression appears to me stronger than ἐπιμελείρω.

Castor and Pollux are called Ἀνακτες from the care which they take of the Greeks. The word ἀναξ, king, has the same origin, because kings carefully labour for the good of their subjects. *Larcher*.

<sup>x</sup> This is related by Thucydides, book i. ch. 130. and seq.



sons in a boat, who he was confident, would, though put to every torture, keep secret what he had enjoined them to tell the king; among these his servant Sicinnus was again sent. When they arrived on the coast of Attica, the rest continued on board, and Sicinnus<sup>y</sup> going alone to the king said, "Themistocles the son of Neocles, general of the Athenians, the most wise and valiant of all the confederates, sent me to tell you, that being desirous to do you a good office, he has detained the Greeks, when they were desirous to pursue your ships, and to destroy your bridges on the Hellespont; so that you may now retire at your leisure<sup>z</sup>." And after he had delivered his message, they returned to Themistocles.

CXI. The Greeks having thus determined neither to continue their pursuit, nor to sail for the Hellespont to break the enemy's bridges, besieged Andros, with intention to destroy that city; because the Andrians were the first of all the islanders who refused to give money, when demanded by Themistocles: but when he told them that the Athenians were come thither accompanied by two powerful deities, Persuasion and Force, and that therefore they must part with their money; the Andrians answered, that the Athenians being protected by such kind deities were great and prosperous<sup>a</sup> of course; but that the Andrians were in possession of a particularly barren country, and that two unprofitable goddesses, Poverty and Impossibility, never forsook their island, but were always fond of living among them, and that they would give no money so long as they had such deities; adding, that the power of Athens would not at any time prove superior to their inability. Thus they answered; and for refusing to give money, were besieged.

CXII. During which time Themistocles, incessantly coveting more wealth, sent threatening messages to the other islands, by the same persons he had employed before to the Andrians, with orders to demand money in the same terms; and to let the islanders know, that if they refused to send him the sum he required, he would bring the Grecian forces against them, and would besiege and destroy them. By these menaces he extorted great riches from the Carystians and from the Parians; who being informed that the Andrians were be-

<sup>y</sup> Sicinnus had been sent before, see ch. lxxv. Plutarch relates that an eunuch, named Arnaces, who had been taken prisoner, was sent. The account of Herodotus appears most probable. *Larcher*.

<sup>z</sup> Plutarch (in Themist. p. 120.) makes Themistocles inform Xerxes, that the Greeks, after their victory, had resolved to sail to the Hellespont and break down

the bridge; and adds, that Themistocles, zealous for his preservation, advised him to hasten to pass over into Asia, while he raised obstacles to retard the pursuit of the allies. *Larcher*.

<sup>a</sup> This is said ironically: Athens was at this present time in ashes and the country in devastation. *Schweigh*.

sieged for favouring the Medes, and that Themistocles was in the greatest reputation of all the generals, terrified with apprehensions of his indignation, sent him the money he demanded. Whether any more of the islanders gave him money or not, I cannot affirm; but I am of opinion that some others did, and that these were not the only people that complied. Yet for all this the Carystians could not at all<sup>b</sup> defer<sup>c</sup> calamity, though the Parians escaped the visit of the army by pacifying Themistocles with money. Thus in a clandestine manner, and without the participation of the other generals, Themistocles demanded money of the islanders, beginning with the Andrians.

CXIII. The army of Xerxes having continued a few days in their camp after the sea fight, marched back into Bœotia by the same way they came; because Mardonius deemed it proper to attend the king in his way, and also as the season of the year was improper for military action; besides he thought it better to winter in Thessaly, and to attack Peloponnesus early the next spring. Upon his arrival in Thessaly, he in the first place made choice of all the Persians, who are called Immortal, except their general Hydarnes; for he declared he would not leave the king. After these, he chose out of the rest of the Persians the cuirassiers, and the body of a thousand horse<sup>d</sup>. Of the Medes, Sacæ, Bactrians, and Indians, he omitted none, either foot or horse: but from the rest of the allies he selected a few; only choosing such as were of a good appearance<sup>e</sup>, or known to him by some remarkable action. Among the forces he chose, those of the Persian nation were most considerable, and wore bracelets and chains for ornament. Next to them, the Medes, not less numerous than the Persians, but inferior in valour. And thus, including the horse, he made up the number of three hundred thousand.

CXIV. But whilst Mardonius was selecting his army, and Xerxes still in Thessaly, an oracle was brought to the Lacedæmonians from Delphi, admonishing them to demand satisfaction of Xerxes for the death of Leonidas, and to accept whatever might be given. Accordingly they immediately sent away a herald, who, finding all the army of Xerxes still in Thessaly, after he had been brought into his presence, said, “ King of the Medes, the Lacedæmonians and Heraclidæ<sup>f</sup> “ of Sparta demand of you compensation for killing their king,

<sup>b</sup> Οὐδὲν is equivalent to κατ’ οὐδὲν, in no way, not at all. *Ne in breve quidem tempus dilata est calamitas.* Schweigh.

<sup>c</sup> See chap. cxi.

<sup>d</sup> See book vii. ch. 40. and ix. ch. 62.

<sup>e</sup> Τοῖσι εἰδεα ὑπῆρχε. These are, if I mistake not, εἶδος εὐ ἔχοντες, or σώμα-

των ἔχοντες ἄριστα, and therefore εὐεκτηκοί. Valckenaer.

<sup>f</sup> Herodotus expresses himself thus, to distinguish the kings of Lacedæmon from those of Argos and Macedonia, who also were Heraclidæ. Larcher.



“whilst he endeavoured to defend Greece.” At these words the king laughed; and after he had long forbore to answer, he pointed to Mardonius, who happened to be standing near him, and said, “This Mardonius then shall give them the “satisfaction they deserve.” The herald, having accepted the omen, went away.

CXV. Xerxes, leaving Mardonius in Thessaly, marched with precipitation to the Hellespont. His haste was so great, that he arrived at the passage in forty-five days, leading away with him, if I may so say, no part of the army. His soldiers, wherever, and among whatever nation, they happened to be marching, seized and consumed their corn; but where they found no kind of fruit, overcome by hunger, they fed upon the herbage that grew spontaneously on the ground, and stripped off the bark, and gathered leaves from the trees, and ate them, both from the wild and cultivated, leaving nothing behind. To this a pestilence and dysentery<sup>g</sup> succeeded, which destroyed great numbers in their march. The sick Xerxes left in the cities through which he happened to be passing, commanding the inhabitants to take care of them, and to furnish them with provisions. Some he left in Thessaly, others at Siris, a Pæonian city, and some in Macedonia. In this country, when marching against Greece, he left the sacred chariot of Jupiter, but at his return he did not receive it back: for the Pæonians, having given it before to the Thracians, told Xerxes, when he demanded back the chariot, that those who inhabit the upper parts of Thrace, about the springs of the river Strymon, had taken away the mares whilst they were feeding.

CXVI. In that country, a Thracian, who was king of the Bisaltæ and Crestonia, did a most unnatural action. For after he had declared he would not willingly be a slave to Xerxes, and commanded his sons not to join in the expedition against Greece, he retired to the top of mount Rhodope. Nevertheless, either in contempt of his command, or from a desire to see the war, they entered into the army of Xerxes; but when they all six returned safe, the father, to punish their disobedience, caused all their eyes to be put out. Such was their reward.

CXVII. The Persians arriving at the passage by precipitate marches through Thrace, passed over the Hellespont to Abydos in their ships; because they found their bridges no longer complete, but dissipated by a storm. While they stayed there, as they were more plentifully furnished with provisions than in their march, they filled themselves so immoderately

<sup>g</sup> This account agrees with that of Æschylus. *Persæ*, v. 490, &c.

ately, that this excess, together with the change of water, destroyed a great part of the remaining army, and Xerxes with the rest arrived at Sardis.

**CXVIII.** Some, relating this retreat in another manner, say, that when Xerxes in his retreat from Athens arrived at Eion upon the Strymon, he made no more marches by land; but leaving Hydarnes the care of conducting the army to the Hellespont, he went on board a Phœnician ship, and passed over to Asia: that in his voyage a violent and tempestuous wind arising from the Strymon<sup>h</sup> overtook them. And that, as the storm increased, and the ship was overloaded by the number of Persians attending Xerxes, who were on the deck, the king became alarmed, and called aloud to the pilot, asking him if he had any hope to save the ship; and that the pilot answered, “O king, there is none, unless some way might be found to get rid of this multitude of its Epibatae.” That the king, having heard his answer, said, “O Persians, now let some among you shew his regard for the king, for my safety appears to depend on you.” That when he had pronounced these words, all the Persians adored the king, and leapt into the sea; and that the ship, being thus lightened, arrived safe in Asia: that immediately after his landing, he rewarded the pilot with a crown of gold for saving the king’s life; but commanded his head to be struck off for destroying so many Persians.

**CXIX.** Nevertheless, this manner of relating the retreat of Xerxes is of no credit with me, for divers reasons; and especially on account of the catastrophe of the Persians; for granting that the pilot said those words to Xerxes, yet hardly one man of a thousand<sup>i</sup> will deny that the king would have done thus: he would have sent down into the body of the ship those who were on the deck, since they were Persians, and the chief among the Persians; and would as certainly have thrown into the sea an equal number of rowers<sup>k</sup>, who were only Phœnicians. But indeed he returned to Asia by land, with the rest of the army, as I said before<sup>l</sup>.

**CXX.** The following also is a strong testimony in favour

<sup>h</sup> The ancients understood by this wind, the north wind; *Θρηϊκίαι πνοαί*, *Thracian blasts*; because Thrace was a cold country, and regarded as the abode of Boreas. *Larcher*.

<sup>i</sup> The Greeks use ten thousand in this sense. The Latins six hundred.

<sup>k</sup> To this objection of Herodotus it may be answered, that the rowers and sailors were wanted to assist in weathering the storm, which the Persians must have been ignorant of. *Schweighæuser*.

<sup>l</sup> Herodotus is not among the reputable fablers who report, that Xerxes, in his retreat, without an army, without a fleet, and almost without an attendant, crossed the Hellespont in a cock-boat. He tells indeed another story, not perhaps wholly undeserving attention, as a specimen of tales circulated in Greece concerning these extraordinary circumstances; though he declares for himself that he did not believe it. *Mitford’s Greece*, viii. 5. note 37.



of this. It is certain<sup>m</sup> that Xerxes in his return was at Abdera; that he made an alliance with the inhabitants, and presented them with a scymetar of gold, and a tiara tissued with gold; to which the Abderites add, though I can by no means believe the thing, that he took off his girdle in their country for the first time, after his flight from Athens, as being at length in a place of safety. Abdera is nearer to the Hellespont than the river Strymon, or the city of Eion, where they say he embarked.

CXXI. In the mean time the Greeks, finding themselves unable to reduce Andros, departed to Carystus; and, after they had ravaged the country, returned to Salamis. There, in the first place, they set apart the first-fruits they intended to consecrate to the Gods, and among other things three Phœnician ships<sup>n</sup>; one to be dedicated at the isthmus<sup>o</sup>, which continued there to my time; a second at Sunium<sup>p</sup>, and the third in the place where they were, to Ajax at Salamis. After that, they parted the booty among themselves, and sent the first-fruits to Delphi, of which a statue was made, twelve cubits high, holding the beak of a ship<sup>q</sup> in one hand, and erected in that place where stands a golden statue of Alexander the Macedonian.

CXXII. When the Greeks had sent their offerings to Delphi, they enquired of the God in the name of all, if he had received a grateful and satisfactory offering; to which he answered, that from the rest of the Grecians he had, but not from the Æginetæ, of whom he expected a due acknowledgment, for having behaved themselves with the greatest valour<sup>r</sup> in the sea fight. The Æginetæ being informed of this answer, sent three stars of gold, which were affixed to a mast

<sup>m</sup> On this signification of *φαινόμεναι*, see Viger. de Idiot. Græc. v. 13. 1.

<sup>n</sup> Phormio also consecrated a ship after his victory off Rhium. See Thucyd. ii. 84.

<sup>o</sup> This was doubtless consecrated to Neptune, the tutelary deity of Corinth and the isthmus. *Larcher*.

<sup>p</sup> Mitford (xi. 1. note 2.) conjectures that this was dedicated to Minerva. The ruins of the temple of the Suniad Minerva remain on the promontory to this day. He is also of opinion that the one at the isthmus was consecrated to Neptune; more particularly as we find that a statue was erected to him there upon occasion of the subsequent victory of Plataea. See book ix. c. 81. and Pausan. ii. 1.

<sup>q</sup> The first naval triumph at Rome was commemorated in a similar manner.

A pillar, or rather trophy, was erected in the forum, composed of the beaks of ships taken from the enemy. *Beloe*.

<sup>r</sup> As the victory of Salamis was owing to the Athenians, it was foreseen, that, elated by this superiority, they would dispute the sovereignty of the sea with the Lacedæmonians. In order to prevent this, the prize of valor was adjudged to the Æginetæ. As the Athenians were annoyed with the inferiority so unjustly assigned them, the Lacedæmonians were afraid that Themistocles might contrive something against them and the Greeks, and therefore bestowed on him peculiar honours. The Athenians, piqued at this, deprived him of his command, and gave it to Xanthippus, the son of Arifron. See Diodorus Siculus, xi. 27.

Plutarch agrees with Diodorus. See his Life of Themistocles.

of brass, and are in a corner of the temple next to the bowl of Croesus<sup>s</sup>.

CXXIII. After the Greeks had thus disposed of the booty, they set sail for the isthmus, with a resolution to confer the accustomed honours upon the person who should be found to have proved himself most deserving during the war; and accordingly, at their arrival, the captains divided the lots amongst themselves near the altar of Neptune, in order to select those who deserved the first and second place. But every one thinking he had performed his part best, voted for himself first; and as for the second place, the majority agreed in selecting Themistocles. These, then, had only their own votes, while Themistocles was by a great majority elected to the second<sup>t</sup>.

CXXIV. And though the Greeks out of mutual jealousy would not determine this dispute, but returned to their several countries without coming to a decision; yet Themistocles was universally applauded, and obtained the reputation of the most prudent man in Greece. Nevertheless, because those who fought the battle at Salamis had not honoured him as he expected, he went presently away to Lacedæmon, that he might there receive the honours he desired. The Lacedæmonians received him splendidly, and payed him the greatest respects. They decreed the prize of valour to Eurybiades; of dexterity and prudence to Themistocles; and therefore presented each with a crown of olive. They also gave Themistocles the most magnificent chariot in Sparta; and after they had said much in his praise, three hundred chosen Spartans, the same that are called knights<sup>u</sup>, attended him at his departure, as far as the borders of Tegea; and he is the only person we know, whom the Spartans accompanied on his journey.

CXXV. But upon his return to Athens from Sparta, Timodemus of Aphidnæ, one of his enemies, though otherwise of no great figure, being inflamed with envy, reproached Themistocles with his journey to Lacedæmon; and objected, that the honours he received from the Spartans were not conferred on him for his own merit, but on account of Athens. And because he continued to repeat the same things with importunity, Themistocles at last answered him; "The truth is,"

<sup>s</sup> This was the bowl of silver. See book i. ch. 51.

<sup>t</sup> Larcher quotes the following from Cicero; "Academico Sapienti ab omnibus ceterarum sectarum, qui sibi sapientes viderentur, secundæ partes dantur, cum primas sibi quemque vindi-

"care necesse sit. Ex quo potest probabiliter confici, eum recte primum esse judicio suo, qui omnium ceterorum judicio sit secundus." Ex incerto libro Academ. ap. D. August. contra Academ. iii. 7.

<sup>u</sup> See note on vi. 56. and vii. 205.



said he, "were I a Belbinite\*, I should not have received so much honour from the Spartans; nor would you, though an Athenian."

CXXVI. In the mean time, Artabazus, the son of Pharnaces, a man of great reputation among the Persians before, and of much greater after the battle of Plataea; having with him sixty thousand men, drawn out of that army which Mardonius had chosen, conducted Xerxes to the passage; and after the king's arrival in Asia, returned back and encamped about Pallene. But because Mardonius was wintering in Thessaly and in Macedonia, and there was nothing as yet to urge him to join the rest of the army, he thought it wrong, since chance had brought him in the way of the Potidæans who had revolted, not to reduce them to slavery. For as soon as the king had passed by, and the Persian fleet, flying from Salamis, was out of sight, they openly revolted from the Barbarians; and the other inhabitants of Pallene did the same. At that time Artabazus laid siege to Potidæa.

CXXVII. And as he suspected the Olynthians would follow their example, he besieged Olynthus also; which was then in the possession of those Bottiæans, who had been driven out of the bay of Therma by the Macedonians. These, when he had taken the city, he brought down into a morass<sup>y</sup>, and put them all to death; after which he gave the government to Critobulus of Torone, by descent a Chalcidian; and by that means the Chalcidians became masters of Olynthus.

CXXVIII. After the reduction of this place, Artabazus applied himself with more attention to the siege of Potidæa; and, as he was earnestly occupied with it, Timoxenus, captain of the Scyonæans, agreed to betray the city to him. Touching the beginning of their correspondence I can say nothing, because nothing is reported: but the event was thus. When Timoxenus wished to write any letter to Artabazus, or Artabazus to Timoxenus, they used to roll it round the end of an arrow<sup>z</sup>; and afterwards affixing the feathers, shot the arrow into the place they had agreed upon. But the treason of Timoxenus was at last detected. For Artabazus, when endeavouring to shoot into the appointed place, missed the right

\* This reply supposes that Timodemus was of Belbina; yet Herodotus, in the beginning, makes him of Aphidnæ. Wesseling supposes with Corn. de Pauw, that Timodemus was really a Belbinite, and that when made a citizen of Athens, he had been incorporated in the borough of Aphidnæ, according to the practice of that republic, all of whose citizens were enrolled in the registers of their

tribe, and of one of the boroughs dependant on that tribe. *Larcher.*

<sup>y</sup> This morass was to the south of Olynthus and contiguous to the interior of the gulph of Torone. It was called Bolyca. *Larcher.*

<sup>z</sup> The *γλῦφίδες* are those four incisions which are made lengthwise in the lower part of the arrow, into which the wings or feathers are fastened. *Schw. Lex.*

spot and wounded one of the Potidæans in the shoulder; upon which the multitude running together about the wounded man, as is usual in time of war, drew out the arrow, and having found the letter, carried it to the principal officers of the Potidæans, and of the other Pallenians their confederates, who were then in the city. When they had read the letter, and discovered the author of the treachery, they determined, out of regard to Scione, not to involve Timoxenus in the charge of treason, lest the Scionæans should ever after be accounted traitors. Thus the treason of Timoxenus was detected.

CXXIX. As for Artabazus, after he had continued the siege during three months, the sea retired<sup>a</sup> to a great distance, and for a long time. The Barbarians, seeing the place before occupied by the sea now become a marsh, marched across to enter Pallene: and when they had passed two parts in five of the march they had to make through that way, before they could arrive there, so great an inundation came pouring in from the sea, that the inhabitants say, the like never happened before, though more moderate floods are frequent on that coast. Those that could not swim perished by the waters, and those that could, were killed by the Potidæans, who sailed out upon them in boats. The cause of this inundation and disaster of the Persians is, by the Potidæans, attributed to the impieties committed by those who were drowned, to the image and temple of Neptune, which stands in the suburbs; and to me they seem to give the right cause. The rest returned with Artabazus to the camp of Mardonius in Thessaly; and such was the fortune of those troops that were sent to conduct the king.

CXXX. The remains of the fleet of Xerxes which fled from Salamis arriving on the coast of Asia, transported the king and his army across from the Chersonesus to Abydos, and passed the winter at Cyme. In the beginning of the ensuing spring it assembled at Samos, where some of the ships had been laid up. The Epibatæ were for the most part Persians and Medes, and were under the conduct of Mardontes the son of Bagæus, and Artayntes the son of Artachæus, who had associated with him as his colleague his nephew Ithamitres. And, as they were extremely dispirited, and no one constrained them, they would not adventure farther to the westward; but continued at Samos with three hundred ships, including those of Ionia, to prevent Ionia from revolting;

<sup>a</sup> "Αμωρις is the ebbing of the sea, ἀναποθέντος τοῦ ὕδατος, the water being as it were sucked back; πλημμυρις

the flowing or inundation of the sea; it is synonymous with ῥήγιη. Valckenaer.



they were far from expecting that the Greeks would come thither, but supposed that it would be sufficient for them to protect their own country; because they had so readily retired, without pursuing the Persians, when they fled from Salamis. Thus despairing of victory by sea, and yet believing Mardonius with his land forces would be completely successful, they consulted together at Samos, what damage they might be able to do the enemy, and at the same time were attentive to the event of his enterprize.

CXXXI. But the spring coming on, and Mardonius in Thessaly, awakened the Grecians: and though their land army was not yet assembled, they arrived at Ægina with one hundred and ten ships; putting themselves under the conduct of Leotychides, who was descended in a direct line from Menares, Agesilaus, Hippocratides, Leotychides, Anaxilaus, Archidamus, Anaxandrides, Theopompus, Nicander, Charillus<sup>b</sup>, Eunomus, Polydectes, Prytanis, Euryphon, Procles, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodæus, Hyllus, and Hercules. He was of the other branch of the royal family, and his progenitors were all kings of Sparta, except the two I mentioned<sup>c</sup> immediately after Leotychides. Xanthippus<sup>d</sup> the son of Ariphron was the commander of the Athenians.

CXXXII. When all these ships were assembled at Ægina, ambassadors from the Ionians arrived at the Grecian station; being the same persons, who a little before had been at Sparta, to desire the Lacedæmonians to deliver Ionia from servitude; and of these Herodotus the son of Basilides was one. They had been at the beginning seven; and had conspired together to kill Strattes, tyrant of the Chians; their conspiracy was discovered by one of the accomplices who gave information of the attempt; so that the other six withdrew privately from Chios and went first to Sparta, and at the present time to Ægina, beseeching the Greeks to sail to Ionia; but could hardly prevail with them to advance to Delos. For all beyond that place<sup>e</sup> was dreaded by the Greeks; who being ignorant of the countries, thought every part to be full of enemies, and that Samos was as far distant from them, as the columns of

<sup>b</sup> This prince was not the son of Eunomus, but the son of Polydectes and grandson of Eunomus: we ought therefore to write Charillus, Polydectes, Eunomus, &c. This is the order of Plutarch (in *Lycurg.* p. 40.) and Pausanias (ii. 36.) *Larcher.*

<sup>c</sup> Larcher reads seven instead of two, because neither of the seven last were kings of Sparta. He attributes the error to the copyists.

<sup>d</sup> See the end of the note on ch. 122.

<sup>e</sup> They were still afraid of the Persian power, especially as most of the Greeks were ignorant of the countries beyond. I say most of them, because the shores of Asia and Thrace near the Hellespont had been thoroughly explored by the Athenians in their voyages to Sigeum, Ephesus and the Chersouese: Samos also was not unknown to the Lacedæmonians. See iii. 46. *Wesseling.*

Hercules. Thus it happened at the same time that the Barbarians durst not on account of their fear venture to sail beyond Samos westward; nor the Greeks eastward beyond Delos, though earnestly pressed by the Chians; thus fear protected the nations that lay between both.

CXXXIII. During the time of this voyage to Delos, Mardonius having passed the winter in Thessaly, and being ready to march out of that country, sent to the oracles a certain person, a native of Europus<sup>f</sup>, named Mys, with orders to go every where and consult all the Gods it was possible for him to inquire of. What he wished to learn from the oracles when he gave these orders, I cannot say, because fame is silent in that particular; but I am of opinion, that he sent to inquire about the affairs then depending, and not of other things.

CXXXIV. However, we are certain that this Mys arrived in Lebadea, and having corrupted a native of the place, descended into the cave of Trophonius<sup>g</sup>; that he procured access to the oracle of Abæ<sup>h</sup> in Phocis; moreover, when he went before to Thebes, he not only consulted the Ismenian Apollo, where answers are sought from the victims<sup>i</sup> as in Olympia, but he also obtained permission, by bribing a stranger, not a The-

<sup>f</sup> This Mys was probably of Europus in Caria, since the oracle was delivered in the Carian language. The Carians were *διγλώσσοι*; they understood both the Persian and Greek language. See Thucyd. viii. 85. Valckenaer.

<sup>g</sup> Trophonius was the son of Erasinus, and descended from Athamas. He built himself a mansion under ground, or, as some pretend, he was swallowed up by the earth. (See Pausan. ix. 37. and the Scholiast on Aristoph. Nub.) The oracle was first brought into notice at the time that Bœotia was afflicted by a great drought. The God at Delphi sent them to Trophonius, whose cave they found by following a swarm of bees. No one was allowed to descend into this cave till he had stayed some time in a chapel dedicated to Good Fortune, and after he had entered, sacrifices were offered and the priest consulted the entrails to ascertain whether an auspicious answer would be given. After other ceremonies, he was led to the oracle which was at the bottom of a low cave, into this the consultant was obliged to shove himself feet foremost. After this it appears that he was by some means or other stupified, and while thus astounded strange appearances and noises were seen and heard

all around: during which an answer to his inquiries was vouchsafed. They afterwards returned from the cave the same way, feet foremost. All who returned were for some time melancholy and dejected, from whence the proverb, *εἰς Τροφώνιον μεμάνευνται*, became generally applied to melancholy people. They, however, recovered their former cheerfulness in the temple of Good Fortune. See Pausanias, ix. 34, 37, 39, &c.

<sup>h</sup> In Abæ there was a celebrated oracle of Apollo, which, according to Stephanus of Byzantium, (voce *Ἀβαί*.) was more ancient than that of Delphi. The temple was set on fire by the Persians, and its destruction was completed by the Thebans in the sacred war. The Scholiasts say, that Abæ was in Lycia, but this opinion is completely refuted.

<sup>i</sup> Answers were obtained at Olympia from the flames which consumed the victim. If the flame was bright, it foretold a happy event, if thick and smoky, an unhappy. See the notes of Valckenaer and Wesseling, who wish to read *ἐμπύροισι*. Larcher translates it "Par la flamme des victimes." This emendation is thought unnecessary by Schweighæuser.



ban, to sleep<sup>k</sup> in the temple of Amphiaraus<sup>l</sup>. For none of the Thebans are permitted to consult there; because, when Amphiaraus left to their choice, by an oracle, whether they would have him for their prophet, or their ally, the Thebans rather chose to take him for their ally: and for this cause no Theban may sleep in his temple.

CXXXV. The Thebans relate the following circumstance, which is to me a matter of great astonishment<sup>m</sup>. They told me, that this Mys, of Europus, as he went round to all the oracles, arrived at the temple of the Ptoan Apollo<sup>n</sup>; which, though called by that name, belongs to the Thebans, and stands beyond the lake Copais, at the foot of a mountain<sup>o</sup>, very near the city of Acræphia: that when this Mys arrived at this temple, he was accompanied by three citizens, chosen by the public to write down the words of the oracle; and the priestess immediately gave the answer in a barbarous tongue; that when those Thebans who followed him stood amazed to hear a Barbarian<sup>p</sup> language instead of Greek, and knew not what to do on that occasion, Mys suddenly snatched the table-book they brought with them, wrote down the words of the priestess, which, he said, were in the Carian tongue; and after he had done, departed for Thessaly.

CXXXVI. When Mardonius had read the answers of the oracles, he sent Alexander the son of Amyntas, a Macedonian, to Athens; as well on account of his relation to the Persians, (for Bubares a Persian had married his sister Gygæa<sup>q</sup>, the daughter of Amyntas, who bore him a son named after his grandfather, Amyntas; this Amyntas who was then in Asia, had received from the king Alabanda, a considerable city of Phrygia,) as because he was informed of the mutual friendship and hospitality that passed between him and the Athenians. This way he thought most effectual to gain the Athenians; and having not only heard that they were a numerous and valiant people, but believing they had been the principal cause of the late disaster of the Persians in the sea fight, he hoped, with reason, that if he could bring them over, he should

<sup>k</sup> If the reading of *κατεκοίμισε* instead of *κατεκοίμισε* is adopted, it must be taken transitively, *he caused that stranger to sleep* in the temple on his account. The other reading however appears preferable. *Schweighauser*.

<sup>l</sup> See note on book i. ch. 46.

<sup>m</sup> *Moi* does not belong to *λέγεται* but to *θύμα*.

<sup>n</sup> The ancients relate that Latone was suddenly alarmed (*ἀνὰπρονθῆναι*) at the sight of a wild boar in this place, and that from this circumstance her son, and

the mountain on which the temple was built, obtained the name of Ptoas. See Plutarch Pelopid. p. 286.

According to Pausanias, (ix. 23.) Ptoas was the son of Athamas and Themista, who gave his name to the mountain and to Apollo.

<sup>o</sup> This probably is the mountain mentioned in the last note. *Larcher*.

<sup>p</sup> We must recollect that this word signifies *foreign*. See note on i. 1.

<sup>q</sup> See book v. ch. 21.

easily become master at sea; and being persuaded of the superiority of his land forces, concluded, that his forces would be very superior to the Grecian. Perhaps also the oracles counselled him to procure the alliance of the Athenians. For these reasons he sent him to them.

**CXXXVII.** This Alexander was descended in the seventh degree<sup>r</sup> from that Perdiccas, who in the following manner obtained the monarchy of Macedonia. Gauanes, Aëropus, and Perdiccas, three brothers, descendants of Temenus<sup>s</sup>, fled from Argos to Illyria, and from thence crossing over into the upper Macedonia<sup>t</sup>, arrived in the city of Lebæa; where they entered into the king's service for wages. One of them had the care of his horses; another of his oxen; and Perdiccas, who was the youngest, kept the lesser cattle. In ancient times, not only the people, but monarchs too, had little money<sup>u</sup>; and the wife of this king made their bread herself. Whenever the bread of the younger servant Perdiccas was baked, it became twice as large as at first: and when this always happened, she acquainted her husband with what she had seen. It immediately occurred to the king when he heard it, that it was a prodigy, and related to some considerable event; he therefore called to him the servants, and com-

<sup>r</sup> We must here, according to the custom of the Greeks, include the two extremes, Alexander and Perdiccas. See book i. ch. 91. and note.

<sup>s</sup> Temenus was descended from Hercules by Aristomachus. (Pausan. ii. 18.) When the Heraclidæ divided the Peloponnese, Argos fell to the lot of Temenus.

<sup>t</sup> Upper Macedonia is the inland country; the Lower that which extends along the Ægean sea. A great deal of light is thrown on this passage by Thucydides, book ii. ch. 99.

<sup>u</sup> In the times of the Trojan war, the use of money was not known among the Greeks. Homer and Hesiod do not speak of gold and silver money, but express the value of things by the number of oxen and sheep which they deemed them equivalent to. They marked a man's wealth by the number of his flocks, and that of a country by its pastures, and its metals. See Iliad. vii. ver. 473, 475.

Lucan (Pharsal. vi. ver. 402.) attributes the invention of money to Itonus, king of Thessaly and son of Deucalion; others to Erichonius: Aglaosthenes (in Jul. Pollux. ix. 6, 83.) attributes it to the people of Naxos. The most common opinion is, that it was invented by Phidon, king of Argos, contemporary with Ly-

curgus and Iphitus, in order to enable the people of Ægina to gain a livelihood by commerce, on account of the barrenness of their island. Plutarch informs us that Lycurgus introduced the use of iron money in Sparta, and excluded gold and silver. Herodotus informs us (i. 94.) that the Lydians first coined gold and silver. The treasures of Cræsus however contained only gold and silver in lumps or dust, (see vi. 125.) And it appears from iii. 96. that coined money was not generally in use at the beginning of the reign of Darius, but we are informed in iv. 166. that he caused gold to be coined.

The form of the small money among the Greeks was very singular. They used small bars or spits of iron or brass, which they called *obeli* (spits,) and he gave the name of *drachma* (handful,) to a piece equivalent to six obeli, (or as we call them *oboli*,) because six were necessary to fill the hand. See Plutarch, Ly-sand. p. 442.

Gold was very scarce in Greece; before Gyges, king of Lydia, brass tripods were the only ornaments in the temple of Delphi. The Lacedæmonians had recourse to Cræsus for gold, to erect a statue to Apollo on mount Thornax. See book i. ch. 69. Bellanger.



manded them to depart out of his territories. They answered, that in justice they ought to receive their salaries, and then they would readily go. But the king hearing them mention their salary, and at the same time seeing the sun shining through the chimney<sup>x</sup> into the house, being deprived of his senses by heaven, said, "This I give you as a sufficient reward of your service;" pointing to the sun, as he pronounced those words. Gauanes and Aëropus, the elder brothers, stood amazed at his discourse; but the youngest answering, "We accept thy offer<sup>y</sup>, O king," took out a sword, which he happened to have about him; and having drawn a circle upon the floor round the brightness, made three several motions to put up the light of the sun into his bosom, and then departed with his brothers.

CXXXVIII. After their departure, one of those who were sitting by him, informed the king what it was which the youth had done, and how the youngest of them must have had some design<sup>z</sup> in accepting his offer; which when the king heard, he fell into a great rage, and sent away men on horseback to pursue and kill the brothers. In this country is a river, to which the descendants of these Argives sacrifice as their deliverer; because they had no sooner passed, than the stream ran so high and with such violence, that the horsemen could not possibly get over. The Temenidæ thus escaping, went to inhabit in another country of Macedonia, near the gardens that are said to have belonged to Midas the son of Gordias; where roses of sixty leaves<sup>a</sup> each, and surpassing all others in fragrance, grow naturally without cultivation. If we may believe the Macedonians, Silenus<sup>b</sup> was taken in these gardens; they lay at the foot of a mountain called Bermion,

<sup>x</sup> The chimnies of the ancients were not constructed like ours. They had no tunnel to conduct the smoke; the fire was made in the middle of the chamber, which was highest in the centre, and had the shape of an inverted funnel. In the top there was a hole through which the smoke escaped. *Larcher*.

<sup>y</sup> This answer is meant to be ambiguous, *I accept thy offer, and I accept the omen*. Δέχεσθαι τὸν οἶωνόν, *accipere omen*, is always used in augury.

<sup>z</sup> Κεῖνων in the original should not be joined with σὺν νόῳ, as Valla has done, but with νεώτατος. The expression σὺν νόῳ has caused great difficulty to my surprise; Stephanus interpreted it *certo consilio*, but calls it a *very rare phrase*. It occurs however in Arrian, (iii. 18.) and also in ch. 86. of this book, where it is evident, that it signifies the same as

νοῦνεχῶς, *prudently*: which sense is very well suited to the present passage. *Schweighauser*.

<sup>a</sup> Larcher translates φύλλα, *pétales*.

<sup>b</sup> Midas asked Silenus, when he had taken him, what was the best thing for man; Silenus for some time made no answer; but at length replied, "It would be best for man, if he had never been born; the next best thing is to die as soon as possible." See Plutarch. *Consol. Apollon*.

Most authors says he was a satyr: some ancients confound the Sileni with the satyrs. Marsyas by some writers is called a Silenus, by others a satyr. There was however some difference, the Sileni were the oldest satyrs. (Pausan. i. 23.) *Sileni priusquam senescunt, satiri sunt*. (Servius, Virgil. *Eclog. vi. vers. 14*. *Larcher*.

inaccessible from the cold. When they had possessed themselves of this tract, they issued from it as their head-quarters, and subdued the rest of Macedonia.

**CXXXIX.** From this Perdiccas, Alexander derived his blood in the following manner. Alexander was the son of Amyntas, Amyntas of Alcetes, Alcetes of Aëropus, Aëropus of Philip, Philip of Argæus, and Argæus of Perdiccas, who acquired the kingdom. Such is the genealogy of Alexander, the son of Amyntas.

**CXL.** When he had arrived at Athens as deputed by Mardonius, he spoke thus to the Athenians: "Men of Athens, Mardonius says this to you ;

"I have received a message from the king, conceived in these terms : I forgive the Athenians all the injuries they have done me ; and therefore Mardonius, observe the following orders. First restore to them their own territories ; and next give them moreover whatever other country they shall choose ; let them govern by their own laws ; and rebuild all their temples which I have burnt, if they will come to an agreement with me. Having received these orders, I am obliged to put them in execution, unless you on your part oppose me : and now, I myself ask you, what madness pushes you on to make war against a king you will never conquer, nor always be able to resist ? You are not ignorant of the numerous forces, and great actions of Xerxes ; you have heard of the army I now have with me ; and if you should happen to be victorious and to defeat us, which you can never hope so long as you have the use of reason, another much more numerous will come against you. Suffer not yourselves then to be dispossessed of your country, and continually running a risk for your own lives, by measuring your strength with the king ; but be reconciled to him, since you have now so favourable an opportunity in your hands, from the present disposition of Xerxes. Enter therefore into an alliance with us, sincerely and without fraud, and continue to be a free people.

"These, O Athenians, are the words which Mardonius ordered me to say to you. For my own part, I will say nothing of my constant affection to your state ; because you have had sufficient proof of that in former time. I beseech

\* Macedonia was anciently called Emathia. (Pliny, iv. 10.) It comprehended Pieria. Helias (this name signifies the sun) was first king of Egypt, and was succeeded by Saturn, who had by his sister Rhea, Osiris and Isis, &c. Osiris from a love of glory endeavoured

to overrun the whole world to disseminate the knowledge of wine and corn. During this expedition he left his son Macedon in Emathia, and established him king. From him the country derived the name of Macedonia. See Diodor. Sic. book i. init. *Bellanger.*



“you then, hearken to the counsel of Mardonius, for I see  
 “you will not always be able to make war against Xerxes.  
 “If I had perceived that you were able, I should never  
 “have undertaken to bring you such a message. But the  
 “power of the king is more than human, and his arm exceed-  
 “ing long<sup>d</sup>. If then you do not immediately come to an  
 “agreement, when the Persians offer such favourable terms  
 “I dread the consequence to you, who lying in the way of  
 “danger more than any other of the confederates, and pos-  
 “sessing a country placed between the contending parties,  
 “must always be destroyed alone. Let these reasons pre-  
 “vail with you; and consider the important advantages you  
 “will receive, if the great king forgives you alone among all  
 “the Greeks, and is desirous of becoming your friend.”  
 Thus spoke Alexander.

CXLI. But the Lacedæmonians having been informed that he was gone to Athens, in order to persuade the Athenians to an agreement with the Barbarians; and remembering the oracles had predicted, that they, together with the rest of the Dorians, should be ejected out of Peloponnesus by the Medes and the Athenians, were not a little afraid that the Athenians would make peace with the Persian; and therefore resolved forthwith to send ambassadors to Athens. It so happened that an audience was granted to both of them at the same time. For the Athenians had purposely protracted the time of their meeting, as they well knew, that the Lacedæmonians would hear that an ambassador had come from the Barbarians to negotiate a treaty, and that when they did hear of it, they would send deputies with all haste. They therefore designedly deferred the meeting, in order to shew their sentiments to the Lacedæmonians<sup>e</sup>.

CXLII. By this means Alexander had no sooner finished his discourse, than the Spartan ambassadors speaking next said, “The Lacedæmonians have sent us hither, to desire you  
 “not to introduce innovations into Greece, nor to hearken to  
 “the propositions of the Barbarians; because such actions are  
 “altogether unjust, and dishonourable in any of the Grecians;  
 “and least of all becoming you, for many reasons. In the  
 “first place you were the authors of this war, against our in-  
 “clination; the contest originally arose about your territories;

<sup>d</sup> The word *χείρ* among the Greeks signifies *the arm*; *manus* in Latin has frequently the same signification.

“An nescis longas regibus esse ma-  
 “nus?” Ovid. Heroid. xvii. 166.  
*Larcher.*

<sup>e</sup> Herodotus does not inform us who

particularly, during these remarkable transactions, directed the measures of the Attic government; which, both in wisdom and magnanimity, at least equal any thing in the political history of mankind. Plutarch attributes all to Aristides. See his life. Mitford's Greece, ix. 2.

“ but it now relates to the whole of Greece. Since this is  
 “ the case, it is by no means tolerable that the Athenians  
 “ should prove the authors of slavery to Greece, you espe-  
 “ cially, who have in all preceding time acquired liberty for  
 “ many nations. We however sympathize in your sufferings;  
 “ because you have been deprived of two harvests, and your  
 “ property<sup>f</sup> has been so long involved in ruin. But in com-  
 “ pensation, the Lacedæmonians with the other allies promise  
 “ to provide subsistence for your wives, and all the rest of  
 “ your families<sup>g</sup> which are useless in war, as long as the war  
 “ shall continue. Be not therefore seduced by the smooth  
 “ surface, which Alexander the Macedonian has put upon the  
 “ words of Mardonius. He acts in conformity to his condi-  
 “ tion; he helps a tyrant, because he is a tyrant himself. But  
 “ you ought to act in another manner, if you judge rightly;  
 “ because you know the Barbarians have no regard either to  
 “ truth or justice.” The Spartan ambassadors spoke thus.

CXLIII. The Athenians next gave the following answer  
 to Alexander: “ We are at least aware of ourselves that the  
 “ forces of the Medes are far greater than ours, and there-  
 “ fore that insult was at any rate unnecessary. But notwith-  
 “ standing that, as we are eager for our liberty, we will de-  
 “ fend ourselves in whatever manner we may be able. But  
 “ we would have you forbear attempting to persuade us to  
 “ come to terms with the Barbarian, because we will not be  
 “ persuaded. Go then, and tell Mardonius, that the Athe-  
 “ nians declare they will never make peace with Xerxes, so  
 “ long as the sun shall continue to perform his accustomed  
 “ course: but that, trusting to the assistance of the Gods and  
 “ heroes, whose temples and images he has burnt in contempt,  
 “ we will march out to oppose him. And do you appear no  
 “ more in the presence of the Athenians with such messages,  
 “ nor exhort us to do such dreadful acts, under colour of doing  
 “ us good offices. For we are unwilling to use methods that  
 “ may be unpleasant<sup>h</sup> to you, who are our friend, and engaged  
 “ with us in a reciprocal hospitality.”

CXLIV. This was their answer to Alexander; and to the  
 Spartan ambassadors they said, “ That the Lacedæmonians

<sup>f</sup> Οικοφθορίω is used in a general man-  
 ner concerning the loss of one's goods,  
 patrimony, &c. Herodotus always uses  
 it in this sense. In later ages it was  
 applied to fornicators. See Larcher's  
 note.

<sup>g</sup> Τὰ ἄχρηστα οἰκερίων ἐχόμενα, is  
 put, as usual with Herodotus, for οἱ  
 ἄχρηστοι οἰκίται. Concerning οἰκίται  
 see note on ch. iv. Wesseling.

<sup>h</sup> This threat includes something seri-  
 ous: (on this expression see note on i.  
 41.) in fact Alexander was very near  
 being stoned. “ Our ancestors so loved  
 “ their country,” says Lycurgus, (contr.  
 Leocrat.) “ that they were very near  
 “ stoning Alexander, the ambassador of  
 “ Xerxes, and formerly their friend, be-  
 “ cause he required of them earth and  
 “ water.” Larcher.



“ should be apprehensive lest we should come to an accomo-  
“ dation with the Barbarian, was very natural, as they are  
“ men ; but such fears seem disgraceful in you at all events,  
“ who know the sentiments of the Athenians. No, there is  
“ not sufficient gold in the world, nor a country sufficiently  
“ beautiful and fertile, which, though offered to us, could  
“ make us willing to join with the Medes, and to enslave  
“ Greece. Many and powerful reasons forbid us to do this,  
“ even though we had the inclination. The first and greatest  
“ is, that the temples and images of the Gods have been burnt,  
“ and laid in heaps of ruin. This we are under a necessity of  
“ avenging with the utmost rigour, rather than to make peace  
“ with the man who has perpetrated the crime. Besides, as  
“ the Grecian nation is of one blood and language ; has the  
“ same altars and sacrifices ; and has congenial manners ; the  
“ Athenians would act an unbecoming part, should they be  
“ the betrayers of it. In a word, be now informed, if you  
“ knew it not before, that so long as one Athenian is left alive,  
“ we will never make an accommodation with Xerxes. We  
“ acknowledge your provident care of us, in the willingness  
“ you express to furnish subsistence for our families, now we  
“ have lost our houses and harvests, and your kindness is  
“ complete. We however will continue patiently as we are  
“ without being a burthen to you. At present, in regard to  
“ the condition of affairs, let your army march out with all  
“ possible expedition ; for as we think the Barbarian will not  
“ delay to invade our territories, but advance immediately,  
“ after he shall hear that we will do none of the things he re-  
“ quired of us. It is therefore proper for you to march out  
“ to our assistance to Boeotia, before he arrives in Attica.”  
After this reply of the Athenians the ambassadors returned to  
Sparta.

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
HERODOTUS.

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BOOK IX.

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CALLIOPE.

**MARDONIUS**, when Alexander had returned and had communicated the answer of the Athenians, set out from Thessaly, and led his army with diligence towards Athens, taking with him the forces of all those places that lay upon his march. The chieftains of Thessaly were so far from repenting of their former actions, that they pressed the Persian more than ever to go on with his enterprize; and among them one Thorax of Larissa<sup>a</sup>, who had served for a guide to Xerxes in his flight, now openly conducted Mardonius into Greece.

II. When the Persian army arrived in Boëotia, the Thebans endeavoured to check<sup>b</sup> the ardour of Mardonius, and told him by way of advice, that their country of all other was most convenient to encamp in; they tried to dissuade him from advancing farther, by telling him that if he would stay there, he might be master of Greece without hazarding a battle. They represented to him that it was difficult even for all mankind to subdue the Greeks<sup>c</sup> by force of arms, as long as they remained unanimous, as they had before. "But if," said they, "you will do as we advise, you may without difficulty frustrate all their plans; send money to the principal per-

<sup>a</sup> This Thorax was the son of Aleuas. He and his two brothers Eurypylus and Thrasideus were very much attached to Xerxes. See chap. lviii.

<sup>b</sup> The Thebans being aware that Attica, to which Mardonius was hastening, was not adapted to the evolutions of ca-

valry, exerted themselves to stop him. This is the force of the imperfect *κατελαμβάνον*. *Larcher*.

<sup>c</sup> In the original *Ἕλληνας ὁμοφρονούντας* is the accusative absolute, so in ch. xlii. 17. and also in iii. 99, 5. v. 103, 11. and ii. 141, 19. *Schweighauser*.



“ sons of every city ; for by that means you will split Greece into factions, and then you may easily subdue those who are not in your interest, with the assistance of these of your party.”

III. Such counsel the Thebans gave to Mardonius ; but a vehement desire of taking Athens a second time had insinuated itself into him, and he would not listen to them<sup>d</sup>. He was urged on partly by presumption and partly by the hope of signifying to the king at Sardis that he was master of Athens, by means of beacons<sup>e</sup> across the islands. When he arrived in Attica, he found no Athenians there ; but being informed that most of them were at Salamis, and on board the fleet, he took possession of the abandoned city in the tenth month after the king had taken it.

IV. Whilst he was at Athens, he dispatched Murychides a Hellespontine to Salamis, with the same instructions which Alexander the Macedonian had already carried to the Athenians ; he sent this second time although he had before met with<sup>f</sup> no friendly wishes from the Athenians, but yet he expected they would remit something of their haughtiness, since all Attica had been taken and was now in his power. For these reasons he sent Murychides to Salamis.

V. When he had been admitted before the senate, he delivered the message of Mardonius. Lycidas, one of the senators, declared as his opinion, that the best resolution they could take would be, to receive the propositions brought by Murychides, and report them to the people. This opinion he delivered, either because he was corrupted by Mardonius with money, or because he was really of that opinion. But the Athenians who were in the council, having heard his words, and those without being soon informed of what he had said, they all resented the thing with the highest indignation ; and immediately gathering about Lycidas, stoned him to death<sup>g</sup> ; dismissing Murychides the Hellespontine without hurt. The Athenian women observing the tumult that happened at Salamis on this occasion, and inquiring into the cause, were no sooner informed of the fact, than collecting together with mu-

<sup>d</sup> Diodorus Siculus, however, relates (xi. 38.) that while Mardonius was in Bœotia, he sent money to the chief cities in the Peloponnese, in order to detach them from the confederacy. *Larcher*.

<sup>e</sup> This mode of conveying information is beautifully described by Æschylus in his tragedy of Agamemnon, vers. 287, 323.

<sup>f</sup> Προέχων is here put for πρότερον ἔχων. This sense is somewhat rare. *Wesseling*.

<sup>g</sup> A certain person named Cyrillus had ten months before met with a similar fate, for having advised the people to stay in the city and admit Xerxes. The Athenian women in like manner stoned his wife. See Demosthenes de Coronâ. Cicero, who reports the same fact, probably after the Athenian Orator, adds, “ Atque ille utilitatem sequi videbatur : sed ea nulla erat repugnante honestate.” *Offic. iii. 11.* See also *Lycurgus advers. Leocrat. Larcher*.

tual exhortations, they went without other inducement to the house of Lycidas, and stoned his wife with his children<sup>b</sup>.

VI. The reason that moved the Athenians to go to Salamis was this. They had continued in Attica as long as they had any hope that the forces of the Peloponnesians would come to their assistance; but when they perceived their indolency and insupportable delays, and were informed that Mardonius was already advanced into Boeotia, they transported themselves with their goods to Salamis. They also sent ambassadors to Sparta, partly to blame the Lacedæmonians, because they had suffered the Barbarian to enter Attica, and had not gone out with them to meet him in Boeotia; and partly to remind them of the great advantages the Persian had offered, if the Athenians would go over to his side; and to forewarn them, that unless they brought assistance, they would of themselves find some way to avoid the impending calamities.

VII. At that time the Lacedæmonians<sup>i</sup> were employed in celebrating the Hyacinthia<sup>k</sup>; and they deemed it of the greatest importance to attend to the affairs of the Deity. At the same time they were occupied in building the wall at the isthmus, on which they were then putting the battlements. In this conjuncture the Athenian ambassadors, accompanied by those of Megara and Plataea, arriving in Sparta, went to the ephori, and said, "The Athenians have sent us hither, with orders to tell you, that the king of the Medes is willing to restore our territories; and, secondly, to make an alliance with us upon fair and equal terms, without fraud or dissimulation; and he is also willing to give us any other territory we may choose, in addition to our own. Yet the reverence we bear to the Grecian Jupiter<sup>l</sup>, and our abhor-

<sup>b</sup> Plutarch (in his Life of Aristides) seems to applaud this barbarous conduct of the Athenian women.

<sup>i</sup> The conduct of the Peloponnesians, but most particularly of the Lacedæmonians, who were at the head of them, appears upon this occasion, by the account of Plutarch as well as of Herodotus, ungenerous, ungrateful, and faithless, if not dastardly: that of the Athenians magnanimous, even to enthusiasm. Mitford's Greece, ix. 2.

Plutarch, in his Treatise against Herodotus, has censured that historian for relating what, in his Life of Aristides, he has himself in strong terms confirmed. Note 7. on Mitford's Greece, ix. 2.

<sup>k</sup> Hyacinthus, the son of Amyclas, was beloved by Apollo. As this God was playing at quoit, he accidentally killed him. Apollo, disconsolate at his death, changed his blood into a flower,

which from him was called the Hyacinth. The Spartans established an annual festival in honour of him, as he was the nephew of their king. These festivals were celebrated at Amyclæ in Laconia. A description of the solemnity is given by Athenæus Deipnosoph. iv. 7. See Potter's Archæol. Græc. book ii. ch. 20.

<sup>l</sup> The Hellenian or Grecian Jupiter, is the same as the Panhellenian. Greece being afflicted with a great drought, (Pausan. ii. 29, 30.) deputies were sent to consult the Pythia, who told them that they must appease Jupiter, for which they ought to use the mediation of Æacus. Deputies were therefore sent from all the cities of Greece to that prince, who offered sacrifices and prayers to Jupiter Panhellenian, (common to all Greece,) and soon after it rained. Larcher.



“rence of the crime of betraying Greece, have prevailed  
 “with us to refuse our consent, and to reject his offers;  
 “though, in requital, we are injured and betrayed by the  
 “Greeks. We know we should consult our own interest  
 “more, by making peace with the Persian, than by continuing  
 “the war; but we will never willingly come to an accomoda-  
 “tion with him. Such is the frank and sincere manner in  
 “which we have conducted ourselves towards the Greeks.  
 “But you, who were then in the utmost consternation lest  
 “we should make our peace with the Persian, when you were  
 “assured of our constant resolution never to betray Greece,  
 “and because your wall across the isthmus is now nearly con-  
 “cluded, no longer make any account of the Athenians. For  
 “after you had promised to advance into Bœotia with us, to  
 “meet the Persian<sup>m</sup>, you left us to shift for ourselves, and  
 “looked upon the irruption of the Barbarian into Attica with  
 “indifference. Hitherto the Athenians are dissatisfied with  
 “you, for neglecting to do that which was becoming: at pre-  
 “sent they exhort you to send your forces to join them with  
 “all expedition; that having lost the opportunity of meeting  
 “the enemy in Bœotia, we may find him in Attica, where the  
 “plain of Thria<sup>n</sup> is the most commodious place of all our ter-  
 “ritories for fighting a battle.”

VIII. When the ephori had heard this message, they put off their answer to the next day, and from that to another; still protracting the time from day to day, till ten days were passed; during which all the Peloponnesians wrought with the utmost diligence at the isthmus, and the wall was drawing very near to a conclusion. I can give no other reason of the great industry they used to prevent the Athenians from taking part with the Medes, when Alexander the Macedonian went to Athens, and of their total neglect of them afterwards, than that having fenced the isthmus with a wall, they thought they had no farther need of the Athenians. Whereas, when Alexander went to Athens, their wall was not yet built; but they were hard at work, as they were much afraid of the Persians.

<sup>m</sup> The verb ἀντιῶσθαι, as far as I have observed, is in no other part of this history joined with an accusative, but always with a dative case: but as all the ancient manuscripts agree in putting an accusative, so the cognate verb ἀντιάζειν is not only joined with a dative, but more frequently with an accusative case, as in ii. 141, 14. iv. 80, 7. 118, 10. 121, 11. There was also a reason why ἀντιῶσθαι should in this passage be put

in a similar manner, viz. lest two different datives, ἡμῖν and τῷ Πέρσῃ, should occur in the same phrase. Schweigh.

<sup>n</sup> Thria was a borough of Attica, in the tribe Cœneis, between Athens and Eleusis, but rather nearer the latter. (Stephan. Byzant.) D’Anville has wrongly placed it on the left of the road from Eleusis to Athens, and too far from that city. See Galen, tom. i. p. 354. Larcher.

IX. At length things turned in the following manner, with relation to their answer and march. The day preceding the last audience which the ephori intended to give the ambassadors, Chileus of Tegea, a man of the greatest credit with the Spartans of any stranger, being told by one of the ephori what the Athenians had said, spoke to them in these terms: "The matter in short is thus: O ephori, if the Athenians are not in union with you, but in alliance with the Barbarian, wide doors leading into the Peloponnese will be opened to the Persian, although a strong wall is built across the isthmus: therefore hearken to the Athenians, before they come to any other determination which may bring ruin on Greece."

X. Such was the counsel of Chileus; which the ephori having considered with attention, they immediately, the same night, and without speaking to the ambassadors, sent out five thousand Spartans, with seven helots to attend each<sup>o</sup>, under the conduct of Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus<sup>p</sup>. These forces should have been led by Pleistarchus<sup>q</sup> the son of Leonidas; but, because he was under age, they were committed to the care of Pausanias, who was his guardian and cousin. For Cleombrotus the father of Pausanias, and son to Anaxandrides, was no longer living, but died very soon after he had conducted from the isthmus the army which had built the wall: he marched away with his forces, because the sun was darkened<sup>r</sup> in the heavens whilst he sacrificed for success against the Persian. Pausanias chose Euryanax the son of

<sup>o</sup> The same number fought with the Spartans at Plataea; see ch. xxviii. We also learn from Thucydides, iv. 80. v. 57. and 64. that Helots frequently served with the Lacedaemonians in the Peloponnesian war. *Valckenaer*.

<sup>p</sup> See viii. 71.

<sup>q</sup> This prince died at the beginning of his reign. Plistoanax, son of the Pausanias here mentioned, succeeded him. See Pausanias, iii. 4.

<sup>r</sup> According to Petavius (*De doctrinâ Temp.* x. 25.) this eclipse happened in the same year as the battle of Salamis; on the second of October, one hour and twenty-four minutes after noon. But the learned M. Pingré, of the Academy of Sciences, informed me that there was an eclipse on the second of October, 479. B. C. This must be the one of which Herodotus speaks, with this difference, that Herodotus makes it anterior to the battle of Plataea, whereas it was posterior. *Larcher*.

Herodotus does not say that Cleom-

brotus was alarmed at the phenomenon, but it seems more probable, that, on account of the favourable omen, he led his forces from the isthmus. For Cleombrotus was hastening on the work at the isthmus, while the battle of Salamis took place, and he appears, when he obtained news of the victory, to have performed the sacrifice here mentioned in order to learn whether an invasion from the Persian land forces, which were then marching towards the Peloponnese, was to be dreaded. He must, in my opinion, have considered the eclipse as a favourable omen, as portending the destruction of the king's army; and he therefore led his troops away with greater confidence, especially as the Persians retired to Thessaly a few days after. The wall at the isthmus accordingly remained unfinished, until the news arrived that Mardonius was returning, when the Peloponnesians went back and applied themselves with the greatest eagerness to finish it. See ch. viii. *Schweighauser*.



Dorieus<sup>a</sup>, a man of his own family, to assist him in the conduct of this army. These forces accordingly marched from Sparta with Pausanias.

XI. The ambassadors, knowing nothing of their departure, and designing to return forthwith each to his own city, went early the next morning to the ephori, and said, "You are here, O Lacedæmonians, at your ease, celebrating the festival of Hyacinthus, and diverting yourselves, whilst you betray your allies. But know, that the Athenians, injured by you, and destitute of succour, will make peace with the Persian on such terms as they can obtain. When we have done so, we shall evidently become the king's allies, and shall march with him against whatever country he shall lead us; and then you will learn what consequences will fall on you." After the ambassadors had thus spoken, the ephori assured them with an oath, that their army was in full march against the foreigners, for by that name they call the Barbarians<sup>t</sup>, and that they doubted not they were already arrived at Oresteum. The ambassadors not comprehending this discourse, desired to know their meaning; and being much surprised when they heard the whole truth, departed with all possible expedition to follow the troops. Five thousand Hoplites chosen from the Periæci<sup>u</sup> accompanied them.

XII. Whilst these forces were hastening towards the isthmus, the Argives, who had before undertaken to Mardonius that they would prevent the Spartans from going out, as soon as they heard that they were actually upon the march under the conduct of Pausanias, dispatched the best courier they had to Attica; where, at his arrival, he spoke thus to Mardonius; "Mardonius, the Argives have sent me to inform you, that the youth of Lacedæmon are marched out, and that they could find no way to hinder them: they wish you may take the most advantageous measures on this occasion." When he had said these words, he went away, in order to return home.

XIII. But Mardonius having received this information, was by no means desirous to stay longer in Attica; where he had continued to that time, to see what the Athenians would do; and had neither ravaged or at all injured the country, being in daily expectation that the Athenians would make their peace. But now, finding he could not prevail with them, and understanding how things had passed, he withdrew his army out of Attica, before Pausanias arrived at the isthmus;

<sup>a</sup> Dorieus was the son of Anaxandrides, by his first wife. See v. 41. et seq. and vii. 205.

<sup>t</sup> See note on i. 1.

<sup>u</sup> See note on vi. 58.

having first set fire to Athens, and demolished whatever remained standing of the walls, houses, and temples, laying all in heaps of ruin. He quitted Attica, because the country is not proper for cavalry; and if he should have lost a battle, he had no way to get off except through narrow passes, in which a small number of men might have intercepted his retreat. For these reasons he determined to retire to Thebes, and to fight in a country commodious for horse, and near a friendly city.

XIV. In this manner he abandoned Attica; and while he was yet on his march, a courier arrived with information, that a body of a thousand Lacedæmonians were gone towards Megara<sup>x</sup>; when he heard this intelligence he deliberated whether he might in any manner take these first, and accordingly turned his march that way, and his cavalry went on before to scour the country. So far this Persian army penetrated into Europe westward<sup>y</sup>, and no farther.

XV. After this, Mardonius, being informed by a second courier that the Grecian forces were assembled at the isthmus, then at length marched back through Decelia. For the Bœotarchs<sup>z</sup> had sent for the neighbours of the Asopians, to serve as guides to him. They conducted him first to Sphendaleæ, then to Tanagra, where he passed the night, and the next day he turned towards Scolus and arrived in the Theban territory. After his arrival, he ravaged their territories for provisions, though they were in the interest of the Medes; not out of enmity to the Thebans, but compelled by great necessity. For he wished to fortify his camp, that he might have a place of refuge, in case he should not meet with the success he desired in a battle. His camp began at Erythræ<sup>a</sup>, passed near Hysiaë and extended into the Plataean territory, stretching along the river Asopus. The wall however was not built of so great length, but it was as near as may be about ten stades on each front. While the Barbarians were employed in this work, Attaginus the son of Phrynon, a Theban, invited Mardonius with fifty of the most eminent Persians to a magnificent feast<sup>b</sup>, which he had prepared at Thebes, and they came accordingly.

<sup>x</sup> The same oracle, which is sometimes applied to the people of Ægium, is by others applied to the Megarians. See note on book i. ch. 145.

<sup>y</sup> The Persians penetrated into Phocis, which is entirely to the westward of Attica. Rennell, in order to reconcile this inconsistency, supposes that Herodotus was speaking only of their progress from Attica.

<sup>z</sup> The Magistrates or Governors of Bœotia.

<sup>a</sup> The camp of Mardonius was not on the same side of the Asopus as Erythræ, Hysiaë or Plataea, but on the other bank, opposite to those towns. See Larcher's note.

<sup>b</sup> Athenæus (iv. 12.) describes this feast as mean; and adds, "If all the Persians had been regaled in the same way, they would have perished from hunger before the battle of Plataea." Larcher conceives it to be improbable that it was mean.



XVI. The rest of this relation I heard from the mouth of Thersander of Orchomenus, a man of great reputation among the Orchomenians. He told me that he himself was invited by Attiginus to this feast, and that fifty Thebans were also invited; and that each person had not a separate couch, but that two men were placed at each, a Persian and a Theban: that after supper, in the midst of their cups<sup>c</sup>, the Persian who was on the same couch asking him in the Grecian tongue, of what country he was, and finding by his answer that he was of Orchomenus, said to him, "Since you have eat at the same table with me and shared in my libations, I wish to leave with you a testimony of my sentiments, which may call me to your remembrance; in order that, being forewarned of what will happen, you may prudently consult your own safety. Do you see these Persians now feasting here, and the army we left encamped upon the banks of the river? Of all these you will see few survivors in a little time." Thersander added, that the Persian having thus spoken, shed abundance of tears; and that he himself being much astonished at his words, asked him if these things should not rather be communicated to Mardonius, and to those Persians, who, next to him, were the most considerable of the army: to which he answered, "My friend, that which God has determined, it is impossible for man to avert; for no one gives credit to those who give faithful counsel. Many of the Persians are convinced of these things; but we are necessitated to follow Mardonius; and the most cruel of all human sorrows is, to know many wise plans, and yet be able to accomplish none of them." This relation<sup>d</sup> I had from Thersander the Orchomenian, who told me at the same time, that he immediately mentioned his discourse with the Persian to divers others, before the battle was fought at Platæa.

XVII. During the time Mardonius was encamped in Boeotia<sup>e</sup>, all the Grecians of the adjacent parts that were in the interest of the Medes sent in their forces, and marched with him to Athens; except only the Phocians, who had been constrained<sup>f</sup> by necessity to take part with them, much against

<sup>c</sup> The Persians were, at the first establishment of their monarchy, extremely sober. See i. 71. and note. But we find that they drank intemperately after they had extended their power. An instance of this occurs in v. 18. *Larcher*.

<sup>d</sup> Boethe cannot be convinced that this chapter was written by Herodotus, since it contains nothing but bombast, and the affectation (which is by no means Herodotean) of one slightly skilled in the

language, and desirous of shewing off his eloquence. *Schweighæuser*.

<sup>e</sup> Herodotus here alludes to the first encampment, see ch. ii.

<sup>f</sup> The whole sentence in the original appears misplaced. The adverb *σφόδρα*, or, as others read, *μεγάλως*, is quite unintelligible. Some meaning may be extracted, if the adverb be omitted. See the note of *Schweighæuser*.

their inclination. But not many days after his arrival at Thebes, they also joined him with a thousand Hoplites, led by Harmocydes, a citizen of principal authority among them. When they also arrived at Thebes, Mardonius sent out some horse, to order the Phocians to encamp by themselves in the plain; which they had no sooner done, than all the cavalry of the army appeared in sight. Instantly a rumour spread through the Grecian forces, who were with the Medes, that the horse were about to kill all the Phocians with their javelins; the same rumour also spread among the Phocians themselves. Upon this, their general Harmocydes encouraged them in these words: "O Phocians, it is plain that these men have destined us to certain death, and, as I conjecture, we have been calumniated by the Thessalians. Every one of you therefore must exert himself to the utmost on this occasion; because we ought rather to die resisting and doing something in our own defence, than tamely to expose ourselves to suffer a most disgraceful death. Let us then convince some of these men, that they are but Barbarians, and that those, whose destruction they have contrived, are Greeks."

XVIII. Thus Harmocydes encouraged the Phocians; and the cavalry, when they had surrounded them on all sides, rode up, as if to destroy them, and extended their darts, as if to hurl them; probably some one did hurl his dart. The others stood firm to oppose them, having collected themselves into as close a body as possible. The cavalry, when they saw this, turned about and retired to their army. I cannot certainly tell, whether this cavalry came to destroy the Phocians at the desire of the Thessalians, and when they saw them prepared to defend themselves, were afraid lest they might receive some wounds, and therefore retreated, in obedience to orders which had been issued by Mardonius; or whether they came only with a design to try whether they had any courage<sup>ε</sup>. But after the retreat of the horse, Mardonius sent them a message in these words: "Fear nothing, O Phocians; you have given manifest proof that you are men of valour, contrary to the information I had received. Bear the toils of this war with resolution, and be assured that you shall never surpass me or the king in generosity." Such was the event of this affair concerning the Phocians.

XIX. When the Lacedæmonians arrived at the isthmus<sup>h</sup>,

<sup>ε</sup> Literally, if they had any share in courage. The genitive ἀλκιῆς is governed by μετέχουσι, and τι has the same force as κατὰ τι: we must not take τι ἀλκιῆς together. Schweigh.

<sup>h</sup> When the Greeks were assembled at

the isthmus, (Diodorus Siculus, xi. 29.) they resolved to take an oath, which might strengthen their union and stimulate them to sustain danger with courage. It was conceived in these terms: "I will never prefer life to liberty; I will never



they encamped. As soon as this was known, the rest of the Peloponnesians, who favoured the most noble cause, and others also, when they saw the Spartans marching out, thought they could not stay behind without disgrace. Accordingly, after they had performed their sacrifices auspiciously, they all marched out from the isthmus; and advancing to Eleusis sacrificed again there, with the same fortunate presages, and continued their march, in conjunction with the Athenians, who, arriving from Salamis, had joined the Peloponnesians at Eleusis. When they were advanced to Erythræ in Bœotia, and learnt that the Barbarians were encamped by the river Asopus, they consulted together, and placed their camp opposite the enemy, at the foot of mount Cithæron.

XX. But Mardonius finding that the Greeks<sup>i</sup> declined to come out into the plain, sent against them all his cavalry, commanded by Masistius, a man of great esteem among the Persians, and called by the Greeks Macistius. He was mounted on a Nisæan horse<sup>k</sup>, that wore a bridle of gold, and all other furniture suitably magnificent. The cavalry advancing to the camp of the Greeks, made their attacks by parties<sup>l</sup>, in which they did great mischief, and called them women.

XXI. In these attempts the Megarians, who were accidentally posted in that part which was most accessible, and where the cavalry made their chief attack, finding themselves hard pressed, sent a herald to the Grecian generals, with a message, which he delivered in these terms: "The Megarians say thus; Friends and allies, we are not able alone to sustain the attacks of the Persian horse, in the post in which

desert my generals, living or dead; I will give sepulture to all the allies who may perish in the combat. After having vanquished the Barbarian, I will not destroy any city which may have contributed to their defeat: I will not rebuild any of the temples, which they may have burned or overthrown, but I will leave them in the condition in which they are, as a monument to posterity of the impiety of the Barbarians." Lycurgus (contr. Leocrat. p. 158.) relates the oath nearly in the same terms, but adds this clause, "I will decimate all those who have taken part with the Barbarian." He says that this oath was taken by the confederates at Plataea, and I think with greater probability, because the Peloponnesians had not any temples burnt. *Larcher.*

<sup>i</sup> Plutarch relates some particulars concerning a conspiracy which had, previous to these events, been formed by some

Athenians of great rank, in order to possess themselves of the power of the state, or, if they failed in that, to surrender Greece to the Persians. It was discovered and quelled without any disturbance by the moderation of Aristides. See Plutarch's Life of Aristides.

<sup>k</sup> See book vii. ch. 40.

<sup>l</sup> The Persian cavalry all used missile weapons, darts or arrows, or both; a practice by which, near four centuries and a half after, they destroyed the Roman army under Crassus, and in which the horsemen of the same countries are still wonderfully skilled at this day. Like the eastern cavalry at this day also, they commonly attacked or harassed by small bodies in succession; vehement in onset, never long in conflict; but, if the enemy was firm in resistance, retreating as hastily as they had advanced, to prepare for another charge. Mitford's Greece, ix. 3.

“ we were originally placed, but we have hitherto maintained ourselves by our constancy and fortitude, though hard pressed; but now, unless you will send some other forces to relieve us, we must abandon our post.” When the messenger had made this report, Pausanias sounded the Greeks, to see if any of them would voluntarily offer to go to that post to relieve the Megareans. All the others refused, except the Athenians, who undertook the charge, with a body of three hundred chosen men, led by Olympiodorus the son of Lampon.

XXII. These were they, who took upon them to defend that post, which the rest of the Greeks at Erythræ had declined; and being accompanied by a party of archers chosen by themselves, fought the enemy for some time; till at last, as the cavalry continued to attack in squadrons, the horse of Masistius appearing before the rest<sup>m</sup>, was wounded in the side with an arrow, and rising upright, impatient of the pain, threw his rider to the ground. The Athenians seeing Masistius fall, immediately fell upon him; and having first seized his horse, killed him, as he endeavoured to defend himself. Yet this they could not do presently, because he wore a cuirass underneath covered with scales of gold, and a purple cloke for his upper garment. They tried in vain to penetrate his cuirass; till at length an Athenian perceiving what was the matter, pierced him in the eye<sup>n</sup>, and by that wound he fell and died. His own troops by some means did not perceive what had happened; for they neither saw him when he fell from his horse, nor when he was killed; but as they were at that time retiring, they did not notice it. When however they halted, they immediately missed him, because they had no one to put them in order; and as soon as they were informed of his fate, animating one another, they all together pushed their horses against the enemy, in order to carry off the dead body.

XXIII. When the Athenians saw that they no longer attacked in parties, but with their whole force, they called out for succour to the rest of the army; while the whole infantry was coming up to their succour, a sharp contest took place for the dead body. As long as the three hundred were alone, they were much inferior, and were forced to abandon the corpse; but when the body of the Greeks came in to their assistance, the enemy's horse no longer resisted, and were not only unable to carry off the dead body, but lost many others besides; they therefore retired to the distance of about two stades, and having consulted about what was to be done, they

<sup>m</sup> *Προέχων* is used in the same sense in Iliad, xxiii. 453. *Wesseling*.

<sup>n</sup> Plutarch (in his Life of Aristides, p.

327.) relates that Masistius was killed by a wound in the eye, through the vizor of his helmet.



resolved to return to Mardonius, because they had then no one to command them.

XXIV. When they arrived in the camp, Mardonius and all the army broke out into incessant lamentations for the death of Masistius; cutting off not only their own hair<sup>o</sup>, but that of their horses and cattle of draught. The sound of their wailings reached over all Bœotia, as for the loss of a man, who next to Mardonius was in most esteem among the Persians, and with the king. In this manner the Barbarians lamented the death of Masistius, according to the custom of their own country.

XXV. The Greeks having thus sustained and repulsed the enemy's cavalry, were much encouraged; and because their men, out of a desire to view the body of Masistius, left their stations in great numbers, they placed it on a chariot, and carried it past the ranks; the body presented a spectacle deserving admiration, on account of his stature and beauty. After this, they resolved to march down into the territories of the Plataeans, judging those parts much more commodious for their camp than the country about Erythræ, in divers respects, and especially, as it was better supplied with water. They therefore determined to march into this place and to the fountain Gargaphia, which is in that country, and there to encamp in order of battle. Accordingly they took up their arms and marched by the foot of mount Cithæron, at a little distance from Hysiæ into the territories of Plataea; where, when they arrived, they encamped, some on not high hills, others on a plain, near the Gargaphian spring, and the temple of the hero Androcrates<sup>p</sup>; assigning a separate quarter to the troops of every nation.

XXVI. In the distribution of these stations a long dispute arose between the Tegeatæ and the Athenians; both sides claiming a right to be placed at the head of one of the wings, and alleging their ancient and late actions to justify their pretensions. On the one hand, the Tegeatæ thus spoke: "We have up to this time been always honoured with this post among the allies, whenever the Peloponnesians have marched out with united forces, from the time in which the Heraclidæ<sup>q</sup> attempted to return into Peloponnesus after the

<sup>o</sup> This custom was also practised among the Greeks. See Euripid. *Alcest.* 429.

<sup>p</sup> Androcrates (Plutarch in *Aristid.* p. 325.) had been formerly a Platæan chieftain. The oracle at Delphi ordered the Greeks to sacrifice to him if they wished for victory. His temple was surrounded by a very thick wood. It was on the right of the road which led from

Plataea to Thebes. See *Thucyd.* iii. 24. *Larcher.*

<sup>q</sup> For an account of the Heraclidæ, see note on vi. 52.

This speech of the Tegeatæ does not appear to me very wise. In my opinion, they ought to have mentioned very slightly their exploits against the Heraclidæ, in presence of their descendants,

“ death of Eurystheus ; and we then obtained this dignity on  
 “ account of the following action. When we, in conjunction  
 “ with the Achæans and Ionians, who were then in Pelopon-  
 “ nesus<sup>r</sup>, had marched out to the isthmus, and were encamped  
 “ in sight of the invaders, it is related that at that time Hyllus  
 “ publicly declared, that they ought not to expose the armies  
 “ to the danger of a battle ; but that the Peloponnesians ought  
 “ rather to pick out the man they should think the most vali-  
 “ ant of all their camp, to fight singly with him on certain con-  
 “ ditions. The Peloponnesians thought that this ought to be  
 “ done ; and an agreement, confirmed by an oath, was made  
 “ between both armies in these terms : If Hyllus conquer the  
 “ Peloponnesian chieftain, the Heraclidæ shall be restored to  
 “ their paternal possessions ; but if he be conquered, the He-  
 “ raclidæ shall depart with their army, and not endeavour to  
 “ return into Peloponnesus during the space of a hundred  
 “ years. On this occasion Echemus<sup>s</sup> the son of Aeropus and  
 “ grandson of Phegeus<sup>t</sup>, our king and general, being volun-  
 “ tarily chosen out of all the confederates, engaged in the  
 “ single combat, and killed Hyllus. From this exploit we  
 “ obtained of the Peloponnesians of that day other great pri-  
 “ vileges, which we enjoy to this time ; and that we should  
 “ always take the command of one wing, whensoever we  
 “ should march out upon an expedition by common consent.  
 “ With you then, O Lacedæmonians, we do not contend, but  
 “ allow you to choose which wing you wish to command, and  
 “ give that up to you ; only we affirm that we ought to lead<sup>u</sup>  
 “ the other, according to the custom of former times. Be-  
 “ side the action we have mentioned, we are yet more worthy  
 “ of that station than the Athenians, on account of the many  
 “ and valiant battles we have fought against you<sup>x</sup>, and also  
 “ against others. For these reasons therefore it is right<sup>y</sup> that

who, to punish their presumption, would naturally adjudge the post of honour to their rivals, even when their cause was not so good. *Larcher.*

<sup>r</sup> See book i. ch. 145. and the remarks at the end of book i.

<sup>s</sup> Pausanias (viii. 5.) gives the same account. Others pretend that Orestes was at this time king of Achaia ; but Orestes was not yet born. See my Essay on Chronology, ch. xv. 1. § 4. Echemus had espoused Timandra, the daughter of Tyndarus and sister of Clytæmnestra. (Apollodor. iii. 10, 6.) Pausanias (viii. 53.) relates that there was in his time at Tegea the tomb of this prince with a column on which was sculptured his combat with Hyllus. *Larcher.*

<sup>t</sup> Cepheus was the grandfather of Echemus. See Pausanias, viii. 4, and 8. Apollodoros, i. 8, 2, and 16. Larcher adopts the reading Cepheus, although all the manuscripts have Phegeus. Palmer, Ryke, Burmann and Wesseling also prefer Cepheus.

<sup>u</sup> In the text it is ἡμέας κενέσθαι ἡγεμονεύειν. I think the copyists have omitted the preposition ἐς before ἡμέας. Herodotus uses that preposition in a similar phrase in vi. 57. *Larcher.*

<sup>x</sup> Larcher translates this, “ Par le grand nombre de combats que nous avons livrés pour vous et pour d’autres peuples.” One would suppose that he read πρὸ instead of πρὸς.

<sup>y</sup> Casaubon has noticed the use of a



“ we should hold one wing, rather than the Athenians, since  
 “ they have never, either in ancient or modern times, achieved  
 “ such actions as we have.”

XXVII. To this speech the Athenians<sup>a</sup> answered: “ We  
 “ are not ignorant that these forces were assembled in order  
 “ to fight the Barbarian, and not to dispute; but since the  
 “ Tegeatan orator has proposed that we should mention the  
 “ great actions that have been done by each nation, both in  
 “ ancient and latter time, it becomes necessary for us to make  
 “ it plain to you in what way it is our hereditary right, as  
 “ long as we are valiant, to hold the first rank, rather than  
 “ the Arcadians. As to the Heraclidæ, (whose captain these  
 “ men boast to have killed at the isthmus,) after they had  
 “ been rejected by all the Greeks, to whom they applied  
 “ themselves for protection, when they fled from the oppres-  
 “ sion of the Mycenæans, we alone received them; and hav-  
 “ ing joined with them, we punished the insolence of Eurys-  
 “ theus, and defeated the forces of those who were then in  
 “ possession of Peloponnesus. In the next place, having  
 “ marched against the Cadmæans, we affirm that we reco-  
 “ vered the bodies of the Argives<sup>a</sup>, who were killed in the  
 “ expedition of Polynices against Thebes, and lay unburied,  
 “ and interred them at Eleusis, in our own country. We  
 “ also fought successfully against the Amazons<sup>b</sup>, when, pro-  
 “ ceeding from the river Thermodon, they invaded Attica;  
 “ and in the Trojan war we were inferior to none. But it is  
 “ to no purpose<sup>c</sup> to mention these things; for perhaps those  
 “ who were then valiant might now act somewhat cowardly;  
 “ and those who had little courage then might now be more  
 “ brave. Let this therefore suffice concerning ancient achieve-  
 “ ments; and certainly, though we had performed no other

superlative for a comparative in Athenæus, xiii. 1. which enallage is also used by our author in the seventh line of the next chapter. In the passage now before us, we have a positive for a comparative; where before the particle ἢ the comparative adverb μᾶλλον is understood, as is common in the Greek language: or the passage may be explained, as if they had said *ἡμέας δίκαιον ἔχειν, καὶ δικαιοτέρον ἢ Ἀθηναίους*. Schweigh.

See Matthiæ's Greek Grammar, sect. 457. obs. 1. Larcher quotes the following similar phrase;

“ *Eo tacent, quia tacita bona est mulier semper quam loquens.*”

Plaut. Rud. act. iv. s. iv. 70.

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch attributes this speech and the whole affair to Aristides.

<sup>a</sup> The Athenians marched under their king Theseus, who listened to the entreaties of Adrastus. See Apollodor. iii. 7, 1. Plutarch (Vit. Parall. in Thes.) says, that Theseus recovered the bodies by persuasion, and not by force.

Pausanias (i. 39.) also says the bodies were interred at Eleusis. Larcher.

<sup>b</sup> See note on book iv. ch. 110. This war is mentioned by several ancient authors. See Plutarch's Life of Theseus. Lysias, Epitaph. Orat. p. 190.

<sup>c</sup> Οὐ τι πρόεχει properly signifies *non præstat, non melius est, i. e. nil juvat, inutile est*. The Latin expression *nihil promovet* very nearly answers to it. In the same manner οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον is used for οὐκ ἀγαθόν; and πλέον τι ποιεῖν, *utile quidpiam facere, proficere*. So also

“feat, as we can undoubtedly as many and as illustrious as  
 “any people of Greece; yet what we did at the battle of  
 “Marathon renders us worthy of this and additional honour.  
 “For, without the assistance of the Greeks, we alone under-  
 “took that hazardous enterprize; fought the Persian with  
 “our own forces, and obtained a victory over the troops of  
 “six and forty nations. Do we not then from this single  
 “action<sup>d</sup> deserve to hold this post? But since in the present  
 “conjuncture it is unbecoming to contend about our post, we  
 “are prepared to obey you, O Lacedæmonians, and will take  
 “our station wherever, and against whatsoever nation, you  
 “shall judge most convenient. For, wheresoever we are  
 “placed, we shall endeavour to prove ourselves brave. Give  
 “judgment therefore in this affair, and be assured of our  
 “ready compliance.”

XXVIII. Thus replied the Athenians; and immediately the whole army of the Lacedæmonians cried out with one voice, that the Athenians were more worthy to be at the head of the other wing than the Arcadians. So they obtained the rank they demanded, and were preferred before the Tegeans: after which the Greeks, as well those who came at the beginning, as those who arrived afterwards, were drawn up in the following manner. Ten thousand Lacedæmonians had the right; and five thousand of these being Spartans, were attended by thirty-five thousand Helots, lightly armed, every Spartan having seven Helots about his person. The Lacedæmonians chose the Tegeatæ to stand next themselves with an army of fifteen hundred Hoplites; partly to do them honour, and partly in consideration of their valour. After these, five thousand Corinthians; who, by the permission of Pausanias, had three hundred Potidæatæ<sup>e</sup>, who came from Pallene, joined with them. Next in order stood six hundred Arcadians of Orchomenus; next to them came three thousand Sicyonians; and then eight hundred Epidaurians: by the side of these stood three thousand Trœzenians, and two hundred men from Leprion. After these, four hundred Mycenæans and Tirynthians, one thousand Phliasians, three hundred Hermionians, six hundred Eretrians and Styrians, four hundred Chalcideans, five hundred Ambraciots, eight hundred Leucadians and Anactorians, two hundred Paleans from Cephallenia, five hundred from Ægina, three thousand Megareans, six hundred Plataeans, and, last of all, and at the same time first,

οὐδὲν προὔργου (and προὔργαίτερον)  
 ἐστίν. Schweighæuser.

<sup>d</sup> The plain of Marathon was a perpetual subject for boasting to the Athenians, because they alone obtained the

victory. See the orator Lycurgus contr. Leocrat. p. 162. Aristoph. Equit. 1331. and Thucydides, i. 73. Valckenaer.

<sup>e</sup> Potidæa was a colony of Corinth. See Thucydides, i. 56.



eight thousand Athenians took their station at the left wing, conducted by Aristides the son of Lysimachus.

XXIX. All these, exclusive of the seven Helots attending every Spartan, amounted to thirty-eight thousand seven hundred men, which was the whole number of those who came heavily armed to fight the Barbarian. Their light-armed forces were as follows: of the Helots belonging to the Spartans, thirty-five thousand, being seven to each Spartan; every one of these was equipped for battle; and thirty-four thousand five hundred men more in light arms, attending the rest of the Lacedæmonians and other Greeks, about one to each man<sup>f</sup>. So that the number of these light-armed forces<sup>g</sup> amounted to sixty-nine thousand five hundred fighting men.

XXX. So that the whole army of the Greeks assembled at Plataea, including both sorts, wanted only one thousand eight hundred, to complete the number of a hundred and ten thousand; which yet was made up by the arrival of the surviving Thespians<sup>h</sup>, who to the number of one thousand eight hundred joined them, but they also had not heavy armour<sup>i</sup>. And in this order the Greeks encamped<sup>k</sup> on the side of the river Asopus.

XXXI. On the other part, Mardonius with the Barbarians, when they had finished the obsequies of Masistius, and heard that the Greeks were in the territories of Plataea, marched thither also; and arriving at the river Asopus, drew up his army in the following manner. Opposite the Lacedæmonians he placed the Persians; and because they were far superior in number, they were not only drawn up in more ranks, but extended as far as the Tegeatæ: he drew them up in this manner; he selected all the most powerful part and stationed them opposite the Lacedæmonians, and the weakest by the side of the others opposite the Tegeatæ: this he did by the

<sup>f</sup> If there had been actually one to each man, the number of light-armed troops would only have been 33,700. For the whole number of Hoplites amounted to 38,700; and from this we must subtract the 5000 Spartans. We must therefore suppose, (and this is warranted by other passages,) that some of the Hoplites had two or more light-armed men attending on them, and some, perhaps, none. *Schweighæuser*.

<sup>g</sup> There were perhaps other slaves, who did not bear arms, and there might be light-armed soldiers, who were not slaves. Such, apparently, were the Thespians. *Mitford's Greece*, ix. 3.

<sup>h</sup> Very few Thespians remained after the battle of Thermopylae, (vii. 222.)

Their town also had been burnt, (viii. 50.) and they had retired into the Peloponnese. When they rebuilt it they offered the right of citizenship to other Greeks; and on this occasion Themistocles obtained that privilege for Sicinnus. See viii. 75. *Larcher*.

<sup>i</sup> Ὀπλα are the arms worn by the heavy-armed troops. Hence came the name of Hoplites. Those who had light arms were called ψαλοὶ and γυμνήτες. *Larcher*.

<sup>k</sup> Herodotus mentions no horse in the Græcian army; probably because the force was inconsiderable, and utterly incompetent to face the numerous and excellent cavalry of Persia. *Mitford's Greece*, ix. 3.

counsel and information of the Thebans. Next to the Persians he placed the Medes, fronting to the Corinthians, the Potidæatæ the Orchomenians, and the Sicyonians. After these, he posted the Bactrians opposite to the Epidaurians, Trœzenians, Lepreatæ, Tirynthians, Mycenæans, and Phliasiens. The Indians had the next station to the Bactrians, over against the Hermionians, Eretrians, Styrians, and Chalcideans. Contiguous to the Indians, Mardonius placed the Sacæ, facing towards the Ambraciots, Anactorians, Leucadians, Paleans, and Æginetæ. But, after the Sacæ, and opposite to the Athenians, Plataeans, and Megarians, he ranged the Boeotians, the Locrians, the Melians, the Thessalians, and the thousand Phocians I mentioned before<sup>1</sup>; for only some of the Phocians were in the party of the Medes; but others among them assisted the Grecian party and had strengthened themselves in mount Parnassus; making excursions from thence, they pillaged and harassed the troops of Mardonius, and of the Greeks who were in his army. The Macedonians, with the forces of the countries adjoining to Thessaly, were added to those who faced the front of the Athenians.

XXXII. These are the names of all the most considerable and illustrious nations, which Mardonius drew up in order of battle. Yet they were mixed with men of other countries, Phrygians, Thracians, Mysians, Pæonians, Æthiopians, and others. They had also among them those Egyptians who are called Hermotybian and Calasirians<sup>m</sup>, who were armed with swords, and are the only Egyptians who follow the profession of arms. These men, who had served as Epibatæ, he took from the ships, whilst he was at Phalerum; for no Egyptians were in the land army, which followed Xerxes in his expedition against Athens. The Barbarian forces of Mardonius, as I have already said, amounted to three hundred thousand men<sup>n</sup>; but no one certainly knows how many his Grecian allies were, because their number was not taken. Yet, if I may give my opinion, I guess they might be about fifty thousand. The infantry was drawn up in such order; and the cavalry was placed in separate stations<sup>o</sup>.

XXXIII. The next day after the two armies were thus disposed into national and distinct bodies, they offered sacrifices on both sides. For the Greeks, sacrifices were performed

<sup>1</sup> See ch. 17. and viii. 30.

<sup>m</sup> See ii. 164.

<sup>n</sup> Herodotus has omitted to deduct those probably lost in the march of Artabazus and in winter quarters, together with the sick, besides those by his own account destroyed at the siege of Po-

tidæa. Cornelius Nepos (Life of Aristides) makes the infantry 200,000, and the horse 20,000, all chosen troops. Mitford's Greece, ix. 3.

<sup>o</sup> An ingenious plan of the situations of the two armies is given in the *Voyages du Jeune Anacharsis*.



by Tisamenus the son of Antiochus, an Elean of the family of the Clytiadæ<sup>p</sup>, and descended from Iamus<sup>q</sup>, who accompanied the army in the quality of augur, and had been admitted by the Lacedæmonians into the number of their citizens, in this manner. Tisamenus consulting the oracle of Delphi about children, and being told by the Pythian that he should obtain five great victories, mistaking the sense of her answer, applied himself to gymnastic exercises, as if he were to be victorious in that sort of combat: and having practised for the Pentathlum, he contended with Hieronymus of Andros, and was at the point of obtaining the victory, but was conquered in wrestling only<sup>r</sup>. The Lacedæmonians, having learnt that the oracle was to be understood of victories in war, and no other, endeavoured by offers of money to persuade Tisamenus to assist their kings, the Heraclidæ, as a leader<sup>s</sup> in their wars. When he saw the Spartans so extremely desirous of his friendship, he set a greater value upon himself; acquainting them, that unless they would make him a citizen of Sparta, with all the privileges they themselves enjoyed, he would never give his consent on any other terms. Which answer being brought to the Spartans, was at first received with indignation, and they altogether slighted his prophetic skill; till at last, when great terror of the Persian army was hanging over them, they sent for him and assented to his proposal. But Tisamenus, when he saw that the Lacedæmonians had changed their minds, said he would not now be contented with what he had demanded, unless they would also make his brother Hegias a Spartan, with the same privileges.

XXXIV. In this demand he imitated the example of Melampus<sup>t</sup>, if we may compare the dignity of a king with the right of citizenship. For Melampus also, when the Argives would have hired him to come from Pylus to cure their women of a frenzy, with which they were infested, demanded one half of the kingdom for his recompense. The Argives rejected

<sup>p</sup> The Clytiadæ, Jamidæ, and Telliadæ, appear to have been three families of soothsayers. Cicero (de Divinat. i. 41.) distinguishes the Clytiadæ from the Jamidæ. I am of opinion that the text of Herodotus has been altered; but as we are not sufficiently acquainted with these families, I thought it right to leave it as I found it. However that may be, the family was descended from Clytius, the son of Alcmaeon. (Pausan. vi. 17.) *Larcher*.

<sup>q</sup> See note on v. 44.

<sup>r</sup> Pausanias (iii. 11.) relates the same thing. The preposition *παρὰ* has in this passage the same force as in the common

phrase *παρ' ὀλίγον*, *propemodum*. *Schw.*

<sup>s</sup> The ancient Greeks always used an augur to conduct and guide them in all enterprizes, as well as in those which related to war. Homer says of Calchas, *νήεσσι ἡγήσατο Ἴλιον εἴσω*. *Iliad*. i. 71. *Larcher*.

<sup>t</sup> See note on ii. 49. We may add that he cured the daughters of Prætus, king of Argos, (Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* ix. 30.) who were afflicted with madness, and received as his reward two-thirds of the kingdom. See also the *Odyssey* of Homer, xi. 286, &c. and xv. 226, &c. *Larcher*.

his proposal, and went away. But many more of their women falling into the same distemper, they at length returned to him, and offered to comply with his demands. Melampus seeing this change, required yet more; and said, that unless they would give a third part of their kingdom to his brother Bias, he would not do as they desired; so that the Argives, reduced to these straits, granted him that also.

XXXV. In like manner the Spartans, out of a vehement desire to gain Tisamenus, assented to every thing he asked: by which means, of an Elean becoming a Spartan, and accompanying their forces as augur, he achieved in conjunction with them five great enterprizes. These were the only men the Spartans ever admitted into their community<sup>u</sup>; and the five actions<sup>x</sup> were as follows. In the first place this of Plataea; the second was against the Tegeatæ and Argives, in the territories of Tegea; the third at Dipæa, against all the Arcadians except the Mantineans; the fourth against the Messenians at the isthmus<sup>y</sup>; and the fifth and last at Tanagra<sup>z</sup> against the Athenians and Argives.

XXXVI. This Tisamenus being then conducted to Plataea by the Spartans, and officiating as prophet to the Grecian army, acquainted them that their sacrifices promised success, if they would stand upon the defensive; and the contrary, if they should pass the river Asopus, and begin the battle.

XXXVII. On the side of Mardonius likewise<sup>a</sup>, who was very desirous to attack the Greeks, the sacrifices were not at

<sup>u</sup> What must we think of what Plutarch (Lacon. Apophthegm. pag. 230.) says, that Tyrtæus was admitted among the citizens of Sparta? Meursius (Misc. Lacon. iv. 10.) shews, that he had no other privilege than that of being permitted to live at Sparta, which strangers were not generally allowed to do. But he brings forward no other proof but this passage from Plutarch. *Larcher*.

Valckenaer agrees with Meursius.

<sup>x</sup> Pausanias (iii. 12.) mentions these in the same order. *Valckenaer*.

<sup>y</sup> There appears here to be some mistake. *Valckenaer*, *Wesseling*, *Larcher*, &c. wish to read πρὸς τῇ Ἰθώμῃ. The words of Pausanias (loc. cit.) are πρὸς τοῦς ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ Ἰθώμην ἀποστήσαντας ἀπὸ τῶν εἰλώτων. *Schweighæuser* remarks, that the best manuscripts have no article before Ἰσθμῷ, and therefore that the change from Ἰθώμῃ to Ἰσθμῷ is much more easy. If, he adds, we could learn from any other quarter that the name of the town was Ἰθώμος as well as Ἰθώμῃ, or that that was the name of any moun-

tain near the town, we might very easily conceive that Ἰθώμῃ had been changed into Ἰσθμῷ.

<sup>z</sup> This battle took place B. C. 458. *Thucydides* (i. 108.) assures us that the Lacedæmonians were victorious, which agrees with *Herodotus*. *Diodorus Siculus* (xi. 80.) says, that the battle was doubtful. *Larcher*.

<sup>a</sup> These prophecies, if dictated by policy, appear on both sides judicious. For the Greeks had only to keep their advantageous ground, while the vast army of their enemy consumed its magazines, and they would have the benefit of victory without risk. To the Persians also the same prediction might be useful; to account to the soldier for the inaction of his general before an army so inferior, and to keep him quiet under sufferings from scarcity, and probably badness of provisions; together with the want of many things to which Asiatics were accustomed, while means were sought to entice or force the Greeks from their position. *Mitford's Greece*, ix. 3.



all favourable to that purpose; but very promising, if he would act on the defensive. For he also sacrificed after the manner of the Greeks<sup>b</sup>, and had for his augur, Hegesistratus of Elis, the most famous of the Telliadæ<sup>c</sup>. This man had been formerly taken by the Spartans, and condemned to die, for the many indignities they had suffered from him: in this dreadful situation, as his life was in the utmost hazard, and he was in expectation of various tortures before death, he performed an action beyond belief. For as he was confined in stocks bound with iron, he got possession of a knife, which had by some means or other been carried in, and immediately contrived the most resolute thing I ever heard. After he had considered how he could get out the rest of his foot, he cut off the front part of it. When he had done this, although he was guarded, he dug a hole through the wall and fled away towards Tegea, travelling by night, and hiding himself by day in the woods: so that he arrived in Tegea the third night, notwithstanding the most diligent search of the Lacedæmonians; who, when they saw half his foot lying on the ground, and yet could not find his person, were astonished at his boldness. Thus Hegesistratus having evaded the Lacedæmonians, escaped to Tegea, which was at that time in discord with the Lacedæmonians; and after he was cured of his wound, he procured a wooden foot, and became their avowed enemy. Nevertheless, in the end his enmity to the Lacedæmonians was not advantageous to him; for they took him at Zacynthus, exercising his profession of augur, and put him to death; but this happened not till after the battle of Plataea. Hegesistratus therefore being hired with a considerable sum, accompanied Mardonius to the river Asopus, and there sacrificed with great zeal, partly out of hatred to the Lacedæmonians, and partly for his own profit.

XXXVIII. But as the sacrifices were not favourable for beginning the battle either to the Persians or the Greeks who were with them, (for they had also an augur named Hippomachus of Leucadia,) Timogenides<sup>d</sup> the son of Herpys, a Theban, perceiving the Grecian army incessantly increasing by the arrival of other forces, counselled Mardonius to guard the passage of mount Cithæron; assuring him that he might surprise great numbers of them, as they came in daily.

XXXIX. The two armies had been eight days encamped,

<sup>b</sup> Possibly Mardonius might think it of consequence to propagate among the Greeks, both his auxiliaries and his enemies, the belief that their own Gods favoured the Persian cause. Mitford's Greece, ix. 3.

<sup>c</sup> See viii. 27.

<sup>d</sup> Pausanias (vii. 10.) says, that Timogenides and Attaginus, two most illustrious citizens of Thebes, betrayed their country. See the justly merited fate of this wretch in ch. 86 and 87. Larcher.

fronting to each other, when Timogenides gave this advice; which Mardonius approving, sent some horse in the beginning of the night to the passages of mount Cithæron, that lead to Plataea, and is called by the Boeotians *the three heads*; but by the Athenians, *the heads of oak*. This cavalry was not sent out in vain; for entering into the plain, they took five hundred cattle carrying provisions from Peloponnesus to the army, with the men that attended them; and when they had taken this booty, they killed both man and beast without sparing either; when they had glutted themselves with slaughter, they collected the rest, and drove them off to Mardonius and to the camp.

XL. Both armies passed two days more, after this action, without being willing on either side to begin the battle; for though the Barbarians advanced to the bank of the Asopus, to irritate the Greeks, yet neither would venture to pass the river. In the mean time the cavalry of Mardonius continually attacked and harassed the Greeks; for the Thebans being entirely in the interest of the Medes, performed their part with vigour, and constantly led on the forces till they came to an actual engagement; and from that time they were succeeded by the Persians and Medes, who gave signal demonstrations of their valour.

XLI. Nothing more was done during ten days: but on the eleventh day after the two armies had been encamped opposite each other in the country of Plataea, and the Grecian forces were considerably augmented, Mardonius the son of Gobryas, tired with these delays, went to confer with Artabazus the son of Pharnaces, whom Xerxes distinguished among the small number of Persians whom he honoured with his esteem; in which conference they gave their opinions to this effect. Artabazus advised, that they would break up with all their forces, and without farther delay march to the walls of Thebes; where they should find plenty of provisions for themselves, with forage for their horses; and that being encamped there, they might accomplish their enterprize at leisure, if his advice was followed: for, having a great quantity of gold, coined and uncoined, with much silver and wrought plate; if they would not be sparing of these treasures, but send them around to the Greeks, especially to those of principal authority in each nation, they would undoubtedly prevail with them to betray the common liberty, without hazarding the event of a battle. The Thebans were of the same sentiment with Artabazus, as thinking him a person of greater foresight than the other. But the opinion of Mardonius was more bold; pertinacious, and by no means inclined to yielding. He said, that he thought his army much better than



that of the Greeks, and that they ought to engage as quick as possible, and not suffer their enemies to go on collecting greater numbers every day; and that they ought not to heed the sacrifices of Hegesistratus, nor yet to violate the auspices<sup>e</sup>, but in obedience to the Persian institutions to come to an engagement.

**XLII.** When Mardonius<sup>f</sup> thought this conduct ought to be adopted, no one contradicted him, so that his sentiment prevailed, because the king had given the command of the army to him, and not to Artabazus. Then calling together the commanders of his forces, and the Grecian generals who were in his camp, he asked if they had heard of any oracles that threatened the Persians with destruction in Greece; but they gave him no answer; because as some of the assembly knew nothing of the predictions, so others, though they knew them, did not deem it safe to mention them, which Mardonius perceiving, said, "Since you either know nothing, or dare not speak, I shall tell you what I know perfectly well. There is an oracle, importing, that the Persians arriving in Greece shall plunder the temple of Delphi, and be all destroyed after that fact. Therefore, being apprised of this prediction, we will neither go towards that temple, nor attempt to plunder it; and thus we shall preserve ourselves from being destroyed on that account. Let every one then, who wishes well to the Persians, rejoice, and be assured that we shall conquer the Greeks." Having finished these words, he next ordered them to get all things in readiness, as if the battle was to take place early in the next morning."

**XLIII.** Nevertheless, I certainly know, that the oracle pretended by Mardonius to have been pronounced concerning the Persians, was really delivered concerning the Illyrians, and the forces of the Enchelees<sup>g</sup>, and no way concerned the Persians. But the following prediction of Bacis relating to this battle had been delivered in these terms:

<sup>e</sup> Schweighäuser in his notes prefers the translation of Valla, which I have given. Larcher translates it, "Ne point violer les loix des Perses."

<sup>f</sup> The conduct which Herodotus attributes to Mardonius on this occasion, shews both the general and the politician. Mitford's Greece, ix. 3.

<sup>g</sup> Pausanias, who has described with such accuracy the antiquities of Greece, does not speak (in Phocic.) either of this pillage of the temple at Delphi, or of the misfortunes of the people concerned in it. Appian says (*De Bellis Illyric.* p. 1196.) that the Autarians, an Illyrian nation,

pillaged this temple and died of a plague; but this does not appear to be the one which the oracle alludes to. We find something more clear in Euripides, (*Bacch.* 1333.) Bacchus discovers to Cadmus an oracle of Jupiter, which predicted, that when he should retire among the Illyrians and Enchelees, he should reign over those people, and that they should destroy a great number of towns; but after having plundered the oracle of Delphi, they should meet with an unfortunate return. If we had the oracle itself we might see in what manner Mardonius applied it to the Persians. *Larch.*

Thermodon's and Asopus' verdant banks  
 Shall see the Greek and Barbarous armies meet  
 With dreadful cry ; there multitudes shall fall  
 Of quiver-bearing Medes, when fate assails.

Besides this oracle of Bacis<sup>h</sup>, I have heard of others of a like tenor, denounced by Musæus against the Persians : as for the Thermodon, that river runs between the cities of Tanagra and Glisas<sup>i</sup>.

XLIV. After Mardonius had made inquiry touching the oracles, and encouraged his men, night came on, and the guards were placed. But when the night was far advanced, and silence appeared to prevail throughout the camps, at the time when men are in the most profound sleep, Alexander the son of Amyntas, king and general of the Macedonians, mounting on horseback, advanced to the Athenian guard, and desired to speak with their principal leaders. The greater part of the guard continued in their station, while some hastened to the generals, and acquainted them, that a certain person arrived on horseback from the army of the Medes, who, after naming the commanders<sup>k</sup>, said nothing else but that he wished to come to a conference with them.

XLV. When the guards had received this information, they immediately followed them to the out-posts ; and were no sooner arrived, than Alexander began thus : “ O Athenians, “ I now deposit these my words with you as a secret, which I “ beg of you to mention to no one except only Pausanias, lest “ you should ruin me. For I should not now make this discovery to you, if I were not extremely concerned for the “ safety of all Greece ; for I am myself of Grecian original, “ and I would by no means wish to see Greece enslaved instead of free. I tell you then, that the victims have not yet “ been favourable to Mardonius and the army ; or else you “ would have come to an engagement long ago ; but now, he “ has taken a resolution to have no regard to the sacrifices, “ and to attack you at break of day ; fearing, as I conjecture, “ that more forces may come into your succour. Be therefore in readiness to receive him. But if Mardonius should “ defer the attack, and not put it in execution, do you persevere in remaining in your camp ; for there remain provisions enough but for a few days. And if this war termi-

<sup>h</sup> See note on viii. 20.

<sup>i</sup> This is sometimes written Glissas. It is mentioned by Statius ;

“ Hi deseruisse feruntur  
 “ Exilem Glisanta, Coroniamque, fe-  
 “ racem

“ Messe Coroniam, Baccho Glisanta  
 “ colentes.” Theb. vii. 306.

<sup>k</sup> Plutarch (in Aristid. p. 327.) says he desired to speak only with Aristides. But the account of Herodotus is much the most probable. Plutarch makes Alexander beg of Aristides to communicate the secret to no one.

Larcher.



“ nates according to your wishes, it is right for you to remember me, and to think of setting me at liberty; who for the sake of the Grecians, and out of a desire to preserve their liberty, have voluntarily undertaken so rash an enterprize, and acquainted you with the intention of Mardonius; to the end that the Barbarians may not surprise you, and fall upon your forces, before you are prepared to receive them. I am Alexander the Macedonian.” Having received these words, he returned to his station in the camp.

XLVI. The Athenian captains went to the right wing, and told Pausanias all that they had heard from Alexander; at this information, as he was afraid of the Persians, he said, “ Seeing the two armies are about to engage when the day appears, you, O Athenians, ought in reason to be placed opposite to the Persians, and we against the Bœotians and Grecians, who are now drawn up against your forces; because you know the Medes, and their manner of fighting, having fought with them already at Marathon; whereas we are inexperienced in, and unacquainted with, those men, for no Spartan has ever made trial of a Mede<sup>l</sup>; but the Bœotians and the Thessalians we know by experience. It is therefore right that you should take up your arms and come to this wing, and we will take the left.” To this proposal the Athenians answered, “ From the time we first saw the Persians drawn up against you, it occurred to us also to mention that which you have now first proposed<sup>m</sup>; but we refrained, out of apprehension that our advice might not be agreeable to you; but seeing you yourselves have mentioned it, your words are pleasing to us, and we are ready to do as you desire.”

XLVII. As this proposal pleased both parties, as soon as morning dawned they changed their stations: the Bœotians having perceived this, gave notice to Mardonius of what they had done; and when he had heard their report, he immediately began to alter his order of battle, and to place the Persians against the front of the Lacedæmonians again. But Pausanias, having seen what had been done, and found that he was discovered, returned with the Spartans to the right of the line; and Mardonius in like manner towards the left<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>l</sup> Pausanias, says Wesseling, must then have forgotten the noble defence of the three hundred Spartans at Thermopylæ. I reply, that those Spartans, having been all killed, there was no one of the present army of Pausanias who had engaged with a Mede. *Larcher*.

<sup>m</sup> The Athenian commanders, says Plutarch, (in *Aristid.* p. 328.) thought this conduct of Pausanias very insolent:

they conceived, that, by making them change their position according to his pleasure, he treated them as slaves; but upon the remonstrances of Aristides they changed their opinions. *Larcher*.

<sup>n</sup> *Ἐπὶ τὸ ἐξωνύμιον* signifies *in lævum cornu, into the left wing*: *ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐξωνύμιου, versus, towards the left wing*. *Schweighauser*.

XLVIII. When both sides had resumed their former stations, Mardonius sent a herald to the Spartans with the following message: "You, forsooth, O Lacedæmonians, are reported to be the best soldiers, by the people in these parts, and are very much admired as men who never abandon the field of battle, nor quit your ranks, but continue firm, till either you have destroyed your enemies, or die upon the place. Yet none of these things, it seems, are true. For even before we engaged, and brought hand to hand, we saw you openly fly, and abandon your station; we saw you leave to the Athenians the first trial of our valour, and range yourselves against our servants; which are by no means the actions of brave men. We were then entirely deceived in you; for when we expected, on account of your reputation, that you would have sent a herald to challenge us, and that you would be desirous of fighting singly with the Persians, though we were prepared to accept these terms, we have found you using no such language, but rather shrinking from us with fear. Now, therefore, seeing you have not begun this proposal, we will at any rate begin: why do not you, we ask, on the part of the Greeks, since you have the reputation of being the bravest, and we, on the part of the Barbarians, engage with an equal number on both sides? If you think the rest ought also to fight, let them engage afterwards; but if you are of another opinion, and think that it is sufficient for us only to engage, we will fight it out; and let that side which shall obtain the victory be accounted victorious for the whole army."

XLIX. After the herald had thus spoken, and stayed some time without receiving any answer, he returned to Mardonius, and gave him an account of what had happened. Upon which Mardonius, being above measure joyful, and elated by an imaginary<sup>o</sup> victory, ordered his cavalry to charge the Greeks: these, with their lances and arrows, as they used bows on horseback, and could not be brought to a close engagement, harassed the whole Grecian army, and disturbed<sup>p</sup> and choked the fountain of Gargaphia, from which all the Grecian army obtained water. Near this fountain the Lacedæmonians only were posted, but the other Greeks were more or less distant from it, as they happened to be stationed. The Asopus was near at hand indeed; but as they were kept off

<sup>o</sup> Literally, cold. See vi. 108.

<sup>p</sup> M. l'Abbé Gédoyen, in his translation of Pausanias, makes that author say, that Mardonius poisoned (*infected*) the water. The word in Pausanias is

συνέχεεν. This translation is not therefore warranted either by Pausanias or Herodotus. The Persians, barbarous as they were, respected the right of nations. *Bellanger.*



from that by the enemy's cavalry and missiles, and could get no water from the river, they therefore all went to the fountain.

L. In this condition of things, destitute of water for the army, and put into great confusion by the Barbarian horse, the Grecian generals went to Pausanias to the right wing, in order to deliberate about these and other affairs. For though their circumstances were bad in these particulars, yet they were in much greater perplexity about provisions: for what they had had been consumed, and their attendants, who had been dispatched to the Peloponnesus to get provisions, were shut out by the cavalry, and unable to reach the camp.

LI. In this deliberation the captains resolved, if the Persians should defer their attack all that day, to remove to the island <sup>a</sup>. This island is ten stades distant from the river Asopus and the spring of Gargaphia, where they were then encamped, and lies opposite to the city of Plataea. This island must thus be in the midst of the continent. For the river, descending from mount Cithæron, and running into the plain, divides itself into two streams: these running separate for about three stades, and then rejoining, form an island, which is called by the name of Ceroë <sup>r</sup>; who, as the inhabitants say, was the daughter of Asopus. Into this place the Greeks determining to remove, that they might have a sufficient supply of water, and might not be harassed, as when they were encamped opposite, by the enemy's horse, agreed to decamp in the night, at the time of the second watch <sup>s</sup>, in order that the Persians might not see them setting out, and the cavalry might not follow and annoy them. They also resolved, that when they should arrive where the Asopian Ceroë is encompassed by the waters which descend from Cithæron, they would detach one half of their forces to that mountain, in order to bring in the attendants who had been sent for provisions, and were shut up in Cithæron.

LII. Having taken these resolutions, as the enemy's horse attacked them during the whole day, they suffered incessant labour: but in the evening the enemy retired; and when the

<sup>a</sup> The isle of Ceroë was doubtless known at that time by the name of the island, in the same way as at Paris, when we say the island, we mean the island of St. Louis. As to what our author says, that this island is ten stades from the Asopus, we must understand that part of the Asopus near which the Grecian army was encamped: otherwise, the expression would be ridiculous. I think the river changed its name to that of Asopus,

ten stades from the island. *Larch.*

<sup>r</sup> Ceroë is not mentioned among the twelve daughters of Asopus by Diodorus Siculus, (iv. 72.) nor yet by Apollodorus, (iii. 11, 5.) who mentions the names of twenty. Pausanias (ix. 4.) mentions Peroë, which I think ought from our author to be altered to Ceroë. *Wesseling.*

<sup>s</sup> About four hours after sunset. The Greeks divided the night into three watches. *Larcher.*

hour of night was come, in which they had agreed to decamp, the greater part took up their arms, and marched away without any intention of going to the place appointed: whilst others, upon their breaking up, gladly escaping from the enemy's cavalry, made towards Plataea; and arriving at the temple of Juno, which stands before the city, twenty stades distant from the fountain Gargaphia, encamped<sup>t</sup> in front of the temple.

LIII. Pausanias seeing these forces departing from the camp, and supposing they were marching to the place agreed on, ordered the Lacedæmonians to take up their arms and follow. All the rest of the leaders were ready to obey, when Amompharetus the son of Poliades, captain of the band of the Pitanatæ<sup>u</sup>, protested he would not fly from the foreigners, nor willingly bring a disgrace upon Sparta; and was the more astonished at what he saw, because he had not been present in the council, where this resolution was taken. Pausanias and Euryanax considered his disobedience to their orders a serious thing, but a still more serious one, since he had come to this resolution, to leave the band of the Pitanatæ; lest by executing the measures they had concerted with the rest of the Grecians, Amompharetus, and all those who were under his conduct, should be destroyed. From these considerations they ordered the Lacedæmonian forces to halt, and endeavoured to persuade him that his conduct was improper.

LIV. Whilst they were expostulating with Amompharetus, who was the only one of all the Lacedæmonians and Tegeatæ, who would not go away, the Athenians, well knowing the genius of the Spartans, and that they are accustomed to say one thing and mean another<sup>x</sup>, remained quiet in their station; and

<sup>t</sup> ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα. This expression has three significations. The first, *they put on their arms*, the second, *they laid down their arms*, the third, *they encamped*. See the notes of Valckenaer and Wesseling. It is here used in the last signification, which, I think, is derived from the second. When the Greeks encamped, they placed their arms in one place; hence, to *put the arms down*, frequently signifies, *to encamp*, in Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon. *Larcher*.

<sup>u</sup> Pitana was a small town or borough of Laconia, on the Eurotas: and it appears probable that a band was formed from its inhabitants to serve in the Lacedæmonian army. Although Thucydides (i. 20.) plainly denies that there ever was in that army a band or *lochus* called Πιτανάτης, yet it does not follow that Herodotus is wrong. Thucydides

may possibly have asked some Spartan, whether there was in the Lacedæmonian army any λόχος, which was regularly called Πιτανάτης, and may have received for answer, that there was no such a band in his time, and as far as he was aware there never was one of that name. *Schweighæuser*.

<sup>x</sup> Lycurgus in his institutions recommended cunning and artifice; and the Lacedæmonians are constantly reproached with their falseness: see Aristophanes, (in *Pace*, 1065. and *Acharn*. 307.) and particularly Euripides, (*Androm*. 446.) The following words of Euripides exactly agree with the present passage of Herodotus;

— λέγοντες ἄλλα μὲν  
Γλώσση, φρονοῦντες δ' ἄλλ' ἐφευρί-  
σκεσθ' αἰεὶ. *Valckenaer*.



when they saw the army begin to move, they sent a horseman to see if indeed the Lacedæmonians were preparing to de-camp, or had given up all thoughts of departing; and also to inquire of Pausanias what was to be done.

LV. This messenger arriving, found the Lacedæmonians drawn up in their post, and their principal leaders engaged in a warm debate. For while Euryanax and Pausanias were endeavouring to persuade Amompharetus not to bring the Lacedæmonians into danger by continuing singly in the camp, and were by no means able to prevail with him, they had at last fallen into an open quarrel, when the Athenian messenger arrived. In this dispute Amompharetus taking up a stone<sup>y</sup> with both his hands, and laying it down at the feet of Pausanias, said, "With this I give my vote, that we ought not to fly from the strangers;" meaning the Barbarians. But Pausanias telling him he was distracted, and not in his right senses, turned to the messenger, and in answer to the questions he was instructed to ask, bid him report the present condition of their affairs to the Athenians, and their earnest desire that they would come over to them, and act, in relation to their departure, as the Lacedæmonians should do.

LVI. With this answer the messenger returned to the Athenians. When morning at last surprised the Spartans still disputing with one another, Pausanias having stayed to that time, and supposing, as indeed happened, that Amompharetus would not stay, when the rest were gone, gave the signal, and marched away across the hills with the rest, and was followed by the Tegeatæ. On the other hand, the Athenians marched in order of battle by the way of the plain; for the Spartans, apprehending the enemy's horse, kept close to the higher ground, and the foot of mount Cithæron.

LVII. But Amompharetus, who felt fully convinced that Pausanias would never venture to leave them, at first persevered in keeping his post; but when those with Pausanias had got some distance from him, he at length saw that they were really<sup>z</sup> deserting him, and he therefore ordered his company to take up their arms, and led them slowly after the main body; which<sup>a</sup>, nevertheless, after a march of about ten stades<sup>b</sup>, halted at the river Molois in the plain of Argiopius, (where a temple stands dedicated to the Eleusinian Ceres,) and waited for his company, in order that it might return to his assistance,

<sup>y</sup> The ancients used small pebbles to vote with. *Larcher*.

<sup>z</sup> ἰθεὶς τέχνη. On this phrase see Hoozeveen on Viger. ii. 9, 2.

<sup>a</sup> In the Greek we must understand ἄλλο σπῖρος to agree with τό. *Larcher*.

<sup>b</sup> It does not appear that Pausanias intended to march to Ceroë, as the rest of the Greeks had not gone thither: at any rate he did not march directly thither, but kept in the hills.

if he and his forces should persist in their resolution not to leave their station. However, at length Amompharetus and his company came up; and immediately the whole body of Barbarian cavalry fell upon them. For they rode out to harass them, as they were accustomed to do; but when they found the place abandoned, where the Greeks were on former days posted, they pursued without delay; and as soon as they overtook them, they made an attack.

LVIII. When Mardonius was informed that the Grecians retired under cover of night, and saw the place deserted, he immediately sent for Thorax of Larissa, with his brothers Euryphilus and Thrasydæius, and spoke to them in these terms: "What will you say now, O Sons of Aleuas, when you see this camp abandoned? For you being neighbours to the Lacedæmonians, used to affirm that they never fled from battle, but were the first of mankind in valour. These men you saw first shifting their station; and now we all see that they have fled away during last night, and have given a clear demonstration, when it was necessary for them to come to the issue of a battle against men who truly are the most valiant in the world, that being themselves good for nothing, they have gained distinction among the Greeks, who are also nothing. For my part I readily forgave you when you extolled the Spartans, in whom you were conscious of some excellence, because you were unacquainted with the Persians; but I wondered more at Artabazus, that he should have such great fear of the Lacedæmonians, and therefore most cowardly advised<sup>c</sup>, that it was expedient to break up our camp, and retire to Thebes, to endure a siege, which the king hereafter shall know from me; but of that I shall say more another time. At present, we must not suffer the Greeks to succeed in their present attempt, but we must pursue, until they shall be overtaken, and have given us satisfaction for all the mischief they have done to the Persians."

LIX. Having finished these words, he put himself at the head of the Persians, and passing the Asopus with great haste, he followed the track of the Greeks, as if they had betaken themselves to flight; he only directed his course after the Lacedæmonians and the Tegeatæ; for on account of the hills he did not see the Athenians, who had turned into the plain. When the other commanders of the Barbarian troops saw the Persians advancing in pursuit of the Grecians, they also took up their standards, and followed, each as quick as he could, without observing either rank or order; thus they pursued with thronging and tumult, as if they were about to carry off the Greeks.

<sup>c</sup> See ch. xli.



LX. Pausanias in the mean time finding himself pressed by the enemy's cavalry, dispatched a messenger on horseback to the Athenians, with this message: "Men of Athens, in the great struggle before us, whether Greece shall be enslaved or continue free, our allies have betrayed both you and the Lacedæmonians, and have fled away during the last night. It is now therefore settled what must be our future line of conduct<sup>d</sup>, viz. to defend ourselves in the best manner we can, and to succour each other. If then the enemy's horse had attacked you first, we, and the Tegeatæ, who are with us, and have not betrayed the common cause, ought to have assisted you. But seeing all their cavalry has now fallen upon us, you are obliged in justice to come to the succour of that part which is most hardly pressed. If however any insuperable impediment should hinder you from coming to our relief, yet if you would send us your archers, you would confer a great favour. We are conscious that you have exhibited the greatest zeal in this present war, and therefore do not doubt, but that you will listen to our request."

LXI. The Athenians no sooner heard these words, than they prepared to succour the Lacedæmonians to the utmost of their power; but as they were actually marching with that design, they were attacked, and by that means prevented by those Greeks who sided with the Persian, and had been drawn up opposite to the Athenians. The Lacedæmonians and the Tegeatæ being thus deprived of assistance, and necessitated to engage alone against Mardonius and the forces with him, began to offer their usual sacrifices. The former, including the light-armed men, amounted to the number of fifty thousand<sup>e</sup>; and the Tegeatæ, who had never parted from the Lacedæmonians, to three thousand. During their sacrifices, which were not at all favourable, they had many men killed, and more wounded; for the Persians, having formed a rampart<sup>f</sup> of their bucklers<sup>g</sup>, let fly a great number of arrows so incessantly, that Pausanias, when he saw the Spartans so hard pressed, and their sacrifices unfavourable<sup>h</sup>, turned his eyes towards the

<sup>d</sup> The construction in the Greek is this; δέδοκται τὸ (Ionice for δ) ποιητέον (ἐστὶ) ἡμῖν τὸ ἐνθελθόν. Schweighauser.

<sup>e</sup> According to chapter 29, the Spartans amounted to .....5,000  
Helots .....35,000  
Lacedæmonians .....5,000  
Light-armed men (one to each Lacedæmonian.) .....5,000

50,000

ch. 99. line 18. and ch. 102. line 7—13. Schweighauser.

<sup>g</sup> These were made of osier and covered with skins. See Barn. Brissonius Regn. Pers. iii. 13. and Taylor on Demosthenes Or. in Neær. vol. iii. p. 620. Valck.

<sup>h</sup> The phrase τὰ ἱερὰ, or τὰ σάγια γενέσθαι, is often used to express favourable sacrifices. So in ch. lxiii. l. 4. after ἐγένετο θοομίνοισι τὰ σάγια χρηστὰ, there is added ὥς δὲ χρόνῳ κοτὲ ἐγένετο, quum vero tandem lata essent exta; when the sacrifices were at length favourable. Valckenuer.

<sup>f</sup> This plan of piling up their shields to form a rampart is again mentioned in

temple of Juno in Plataea, and invoking the Goddess, prayed that his hopes might not be frustrated.

LXII. While he was still making this invocation, the Tegeatæ began to advance against the Barbarians. Immediately after the prayer of Pausanias, the Lacedæmonians sacrificed happily, and when they were at length favourable, they marched out likewise against the Persians; who, laying aside their arrows, opposed them; first of all a battle ensued near the rampart of bucklers, and when these were thrown down, they maintained an obstinate fight near the temple of Ceres, for a considerable time, till at last they came to a close conflict<sup>i</sup>. For the Barbarians laid hold of the enemy's lances, and broke them in pieces. And indeed, in courage and strength, the Persians were not inferior to the Greeks<sup>k</sup>; but they were lightly armed, and moreover ignorant of military discipline, and no way comparable to their adversaries in skill; they rushed forward either singly or in bodies of ten, or more, or less, and falling upon the Lacedæmonians, were certainly destroyed.

LXIII. Nevertheless, in that part where Mardonius, mounted on a white horse, fought at the head of a thousand chosen men<sup>l</sup>, the best among the Persians, there the Greeks were attacked with most vigour. For as long as he continued alive, the Persians made a strenuous defence, and killed many of the Spartans. But when Mardonius fell<sup>m</sup>, and the chosen troops about him were defeated, the rest immediately turned their backs, and fled before the Lacedæmonians; their dress<sup>n</sup>, which had no defensive armour, was particularly disadvantageous to them; for they were light armed<sup>o</sup>, and fought against Hoplites.

LXIV. Here the death of Leonidas was revenged by the

<sup>i</sup> Ὀθισμός in our author, (vii. 225, 3.) and in other writers, signifies the conflict of men engaged in close combat, and mutually pressing and repelling one another, as may be expected in a thick crowd. The passage may be well rendered, *donec jam in manus et ad gladios pugna venit*; compare Livy ii. 46. Schw.

<sup>k</sup> To the same purpose also even Plutarch speaks, Περσῶν πολλοὺς—οὐκ ἀπράκτως οὐδὲ ἀθύμως πίπτοντας, (Vit. Aristid.) See also Plato. Laches, p. 191. vol. ii. Mitford's Greece, note 12. on ix. 3.

<sup>l</sup> See vii. 40. and viii. 113.

<sup>m</sup> In Asiatic armies the jealousy of despotism being adverse to that close succession of various ranks in command, which, in the European, contributes so much to the preservation of order in all

events, the death of the commander-in-chief can scarcely fail to superinduce complete confusion and the certain ruin of the enterprise. Mitford's Greece, ix. 3.

<sup>n</sup> See v. 49. and i. 135.

<sup>o</sup> Valla, Gronovius and Wesseling, have rendered ἀνοπλοι, *inermes*. I would render it *leviter armati*. Perhaps it may be better translated, *clypeis erant nudati*; compare ch. lxiii. 9. Ὀπλον singly signifies a shield, and when the rampart of shields was overthrown by the Greeks, the Persians had not time to recover their own. The Persians were besides protected by a scaled breastplate; see vii. 61, 3. These breastplates, however, were not so compact as that of Masistius; so that the wearer was not protected from wounds. It may also be doubted whether they were made of iron.



Spartans upon Mardonius, according to the oracular saying<sup>p</sup>; and here the most glorious victory we ever heard of was obtained by Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus, and grandson to Anaxandrides; whose ancestors I mentioned before<sup>q</sup> in the genealogy of Leonidas; for they were the same. Mardonius died by the hand of Aïmnestus, a man of renown at Sparta, who, some time after this Persian war, was killed at Stenyclerus<sup>r</sup>, with three hundred Lacedæmonians, fighting against all the forces of the Messenians<sup>s</sup>.

LXV. The Persians thus put to the rout by the Spartans in the territories of Plataea, fled in confusion to their camp, which they had fortified with a wall of wood<sup>t</sup>, in the plains of Thebes. But I am surprised, that seeing the battle was fought near the grove of Ceres, not one of the Barbarians was seen to enter into the temple, nor to die in any part of the sacred ground, but all fell in unconsecrated ground; and if a man may be permitted to form a conjecture concerning divine things, I imagine the Goddess would not receive them, after they had burnt her royal temple<sup>u</sup> at Eleusis. Such was the event of this battle.

LXVI. In the mean time, Artabazus<sup>\*</sup> the son of Pharnaces, who from the beginning had disapproved the king's assenting to leave Mardonius in Greece, and who, by all the reasons he could allege, was not able to prevail with him to forbear fighting, thought fit to act in this manner. Being displeased at the conduct of Mardonius, and rightly judging what the issue would be, he drew up his men in order<sup>y</sup>, and commanded that, during the battle, all the forces under him, consisting of forty thousand men, should follow him wheresoever he should lead them, with the same diligence they should see him make: and after he had given these instructions, he advanced with his

<sup>p</sup> See viii. 114. and note on vi. 140.

<sup>q</sup> See vii. 204.

<sup>r</sup> Herodotus writes Stenyclerus, because the Ionic dialect changes *alpha* of the third syllable into *eta*. Strabo (Geograph. viii. p. 555.) writes it Stenyclarus; Pausanias, however, constantly puts Stenyclerus, and so does Stephens of Byzantium. Larcher.

<sup>s</sup> This was in the third Messenian war, which lasted ten years: it began fourteen years after the battle of Plataea, B.C. 465. Larcher.

<sup>t</sup> See ch. xv. and lxx.

<sup>u</sup> Valckenaer has rightly observed that τὸ ἱερὸν has been introduced from the margin, where it was placed as a gloss, into the text. The same learned man has also remarked with great justice, that Ἀνάκτορον is used concerning the tem-

ples of most of the Gods. I think it necessary to add, that this word is properly employed, when we speak of the temple of the Eleusinian Ceres. See Euripides Suppl. 87. Larcher.

<sup>\*</sup> See ch. xli.

Rollin, though he sometimes mistakes the Greek military writers, as Thucydides and Xenophon, on subjects merely military, is otherwise in this early part of Grecian history generally exact; but I know not where he learnt that Artabazus distinguished himself by his gallant exertion in this battle. Mitford's Greece, ix. 3. note 13.

<sup>y</sup> In my opinion the accusative τοῦτον is governed by κατηρτισμένος, so that, as very many other Greek verbs, this also in the præterite passive has an active or middle signification. Schweigh.

men, as if to join<sup>2</sup> in the engagement: but as he was marching in front of his troops, he discovered the Persians flying. Upon which, he no longer led his forces in the same order, but fled<sup>3</sup> with all possible speed; not towards the wall of wood, nor the city of Thebes, but into the territories of the Phocians, being desirous to reach the Hellespont as soon as he could. This was the direction they took.

**LXVII.** In this battle, while the rest of the Greeks in the king's army behaved themselves ill on purpose, the Boeotians fought for a considerable time against the Athenians. For those Thebans<sup>b</sup>, who favoured the Medes, displayed no slight ardour, but continued fighting and not willingly relaxing, so that three hundred of the principal and most valiant were killed by the Athenians upon the place: and the rest, after they were broken and put to flight, would not follow the Persians, nor the vast multitude of their associates, who neither fought at all, nor performed any thing considerable, but retired to Thebes.

**LXVIII.** The Barbarians appear to me<sup>c</sup> to have been totally dependant on the Persians on this occasion. For when they saw the Persians flying, they abandoned the field, even without striking a blow; and by their example at length betook themselves all to flight, except some of the horse, consisting of Boeotians and others. Yet these in their retreat being nearest to the enemy, were of some advantage to those that fled, by defending their friends from the Grecians; who vigorously pursuing their victory, pressed hard upon the broken forces of Xerxes, and made a great slaughter among them.

**LXIX.** During this pursuit, a message was brought to those Grecians who had absented themselves from the battle, and retired to the temple of Juno<sup>d</sup>, that the armies had engaged, and that the Greeks with Pausanias were victorious. Upon which news they hastened back, without observing any kind of order, the Corinthians<sup>e</sup> by the way of the hills that leads directly to the temple of Ceres, and the Megarians with the Phliasians took the smoothest road over the plain. But the Theban cavalry, commanded by Asopodorus the son of Timander, seeing the Megarians and Phliasians approaching

<sup>2</sup> In the phrase *ὡς ἐς μάχην ἦγε δῆθεν τὸν στρατὸν*, *exercitum ducebat tanquam ad pugnam scilicet*, δῆθεν is used in the same sense as in vi. 1. *Valckenaer*.

<sup>a</sup> The verb *προχάζειν* has the same signification as *τρέχειν*, to run.

<sup>b</sup> The greater and more powerful part of the Thebans favoured the Medes, and not all. See lxxvi. 3. *Schweigh*.

<sup>c</sup> *Δηλοῖ τε ἐμοὶ* in the original is taken

impersonally, and intransitively; *apparet, manifestum fit mihi*. See ii. 117, 2.

<sup>d</sup> See ch. li.

<sup>e</sup> As *οἱ περὶ* or *ἀμφὶ αὐτὸν* frequently signify no others than a man's self, *αὐτὸς*: so in this passage *οἱ ἀμφὶ Κόρινθιόνος* and *οἱ ἀμφὶ Μεγαρίας*, are no other than the Corinthians, Megarians, &c. themselves. *Schweigh*.



in so disorderly a manner, pushed on their horses immediately, and falling upon them, killed six hundred on the spot, and drove the rest to mount Cithæron. Thus these men fell without honour.

LXX. The Persians and the rest of the multitude, when they arrived in their flight within their wooden wall, mounted the towers before the coming of the Lacedæmonians, and improved their works in the best manner they could; so that when the Lacedæmonians arrived, rather a vigorous battle ensued before the walls. For so long as the Athenians were absent, the Barbarians not only defended themselves, but had the advantage over the Lacedæmonians, as they knew not how to attack a fortification<sup>f</sup>. But upon the arrival of the Athenians, the action grew hotter on both sides, and continued for a long time; till in the end, by their valour and constancy, the Athenians mounted the walls, and made a breach, through which the Greeks poured in. The first that entered into the fortification were the Tegeatæ, who plundered the tent of Mardonius, and among other things took away a manger for horses, all of solid brass, and well worth seeing; this manger they afterwards placed in the temple of the Alean Minerva<sup>g</sup>; but the rest of their booty they brought to the common heap, and deposited with that taken by the other Greeks. The Barbarians, after the forcing of their intrenchment, no longer formed into any body, nor did any one think of valour, but as they were frightened, and as so many myriads were intercepted within a small space, they were thrown into the utmost confusion; by which means they were so easily cut in pieces<sup>h</sup> by the Greeks, that of three hundred thousand men, not full three thousand escaped the sword, besides those forty thousand who fled away with Artabazus. Of the Lacedæmonians of Sparta ninety-one were killed in the battle; of the Tegeatæ sixteen; and of the Athenians fifty-two<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> Thucydides also (i. 102.) mentions the ignorance of the Lacedæmonians in the art of attacking walled towns, &c. But it is rather surprising that they did not attempt to set fire to the wooden wall.

<sup>g</sup> See note on i. 66.

<sup>h</sup> The victory of a free people, fighting for their possessions, their families, and their independency, against foreign invaders, is never likely to be mild. Both Herodotus and Plutarch, however, avoid all detail of this massacre. Mitford's Greece, ix. 3.

<sup>i</sup> Plutarch (de Herodot. Malign. p. 872.) is angry that only Lacedæmonians, Tegeatæ and Athenians are here mentioned; the two former of whom fought

with the Barbarians, and the latter with the Thebans; and that thus the other states are dishonoured. In his Life of Aristides, (p. 330.) he opposes to Herodotus the number of the slain, and the public monuments; and informs us that 1360 Greeks fell on this day, of whom 91 were Lacedæmonians; 16 Tegeatæ; and 52 Athenians: all of whom, according to Clidemus, were of the tribe Æantis, which fought with the greatest bravery. Valckenaer.

Lysias, in his funeral oration, positively asserts the same fact as Herodotus, (Lys. Or. Fun. p. 107. vel 195.) It is indeed little likely that, while memory of the transaction was yet fresh, a historian,

LXXI. Those among the Barbarians who fought best were, of the foot, the Persians; of the horse, the Sacæ; and Mardonius is said to have shewn himself the bravest man. Of the Greeks, the Tegeatæ and Athenians evinced great bravery, but the Lacedæmonians surpassed them; of which I can give this proof only: though the former beat the forces they engaged, yet the Lacedæmonians engaged with and defeated the strongest part of the enemy's army. But among all the Lacedæmonians, no man, in my opinion, gave so great proofs of valour as Aristodemus, who was before disgraced and dishonoured, because he alone, of the three hundred, had saved himself from the slaughter of Thermopylæ. After him, Posidonius, Philocyon, and Amompharetus the Spartan, distinguished themselves. Yet when the question came to be debated, who had behaved himself best<sup>k</sup>, those Spartans that were present gave judgment, that Aristodemus wished to die in the sight of his countrymen, on account of the disgrace attached to him, and therefore rushing forward, like a madman, beyond his companions, had performed actions of great glory; but that Posidonius having no occasion to desire death, had acted bravely, and therefore deserved the more glory. Perhaps they gave that judgment from a motive of envy. However, they paid great honours to all those I mentioned who died in the battle; excepting only Aristodemus, who was deprived of that honour, because he had predetermined to lose his life for the foregoing reason.

LXXII. These were the men who acquired the greatest fame in the battle of Platæa. For Callicratides, the handsomest man, not only of the Lacedæmonians, but of others in the Grecian army, died not in the action; but standing in his rank, while Pausanias was sacrificing, he received a wound in

writing for the Greek nation, would venture a false assertion so dishonourable to so large a part of it, concerning facts in their nature of such public notoriety; and it is still less likely that such an assertion would remain to be refuted in Plutarch's age. The interest which the Lacedæmonians and Athenians afterward had in courting the other Grecian states, may sufficiently account for the epigrams, barrows, and other such uncertain evidences as Plutarch has quoted. Indeed, before Plutarch's testimony can be of any weight, he must first be reconciled to himself. It does, however, appear extraordinary, that Herodotus, in his narrative of this great event, should never have mentioned the Platæans. The assertion of Plutarch, that the

Greeks decreed to the Platæans the first honours for military merit on the occasion, though Diodorus differs from him, is confirmed by Thucydides, against whose authority that of Diodorus is not to be mentioned. Possibly on account of their subsequent fate, Herodotus might have had some reason for omitting all mention of them, similar to that, whatever it was, which has made him totally silent concerning the first two Messenian wars. When we consider his extreme freedom by turns with all the most powerful states of Greece, both omissions appear mysterious. Mitford's Greece, ix. 3. note 15.

<sup>k</sup> In the Greek δὲ is put for τίς, as in vi. 124, 6. and τὸ (which in other places is equivalent to ὅ, after the Ionic custom) is put for τί in vi. 37, 9. Schweigh.



the side by an arrow; and, as they carried him off, regretting his fate, he turned to Arimnestus<sup>1</sup> a Plataean, and told him that he did not lament at dying for Greece; but at not having used his arm, or done any thing worthy of himself, and of his desire for glory.

LXXIII. Of the Athenians, Sophanes the son of Euty-chides, of the borough of Decelea, is reported to have acquired great reputation. The inhabitants of Decelea, as the Athenians say, were the authors of a thing, which has been ever since of advantage to them. For in ancient time, when the Tyndaridæ<sup>m</sup>, seeking to recover Helen<sup>n</sup>, entered the territories of Attica with a numerous army, and dispossessed the people of their habitations, not knowing to what place she was carried; the Deceleans, and, as some say, Decelus himself, indignant at the wanton crime of Theseus, and fearing that all the country of the Athenians might be ravaged, discovered the whole intrigue, and conducted the Tyndaridæ to Aphid-næ<sup>o</sup>, which Titacus<sup>p</sup>, a native of the place, delivered into their hands. From the time of that action even to this day, the Deceleans have enjoyed at Sparta<sup>q</sup> immunity from tribute and precedency in assemblies; and also in the war, which happened many years after<sup>r</sup>, between the Athenians and Peloponne-sians, when the Lacedæmonians pillaged the rest of Attica, they abstained from Decelea<sup>s</sup>.

LXXIV. Of that borough was Sophanes, who distinguished himself above all the Athenians on this occasion; but two different accounts are given of him. Some say, he carried an

<sup>1</sup> Arimnestus was commander of the Plataeans. See Pausanias, ix. 4. and Plutarch in Aristid. p. 325. Thucydides (iii. 52.) mentions a man named Lacon the son of Arimnestus, a native of Plataea. *Wesseling*.

<sup>m</sup> Castor and Pollux. *Wesseling*.

<sup>n</sup> Helen, as every one knows, was the daughter of Tyndarus, and sister of Castor and Pollux. She was carried off by Theseus, when he was fifty years old, according to Hellanicus, (Plutarch in Thes. p. 14.) She was not then marriageable, perhaps she was ten years old. This rape consequently took place several years before Menelaus married her, and Paris seduced her. The Greeks were ten years assembling their forces, and ten years before Troy. And therefore when the Trojan senators so admired her beauty, she must have been thirty-six years old. See Iliad iii. vers. 156, &c. and xxiv. vers. 765. *Larcher*.

<sup>o</sup> Plutarch (in Thesco, p. 15.) differs from our author.

<sup>p</sup> There was a borough in Attica called Titacidæ. See Suidas, voc. *Titacidæ*.

<sup>q</sup> This ought to be understood of those Deceleans who wished to settle in Sparta. *Larcher*.

<sup>r</sup> The battle of Plataea took place B. C. 479; the Peloponnesian war began in the spring of the year 431. B. C. that is, nearly 48 years after the battle of Plataea. *Larcher*.

<sup>s</sup> This is frequently referred to the 3rd year of the 91st Olympiad, when Agis, the son of Archidamus, occupied Decelea to the great annoyance of the Athenians; see Thucydides, vii. 19. This however must be wrong; for to occupy a place with fortifications, furnish it with a garrison, and to make it the seat of war, is very different from abstaining from it. The circumstance here alluded to appears to me, and also to Bouhier, to have occurred in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when Archidamus ravaged Attica. Thucyd. ii. 10. *Wessel*.

anchor of iron fastened to the girdle of his breastplate with a chain of brass; which he fixed before him, when he approached the enemy, to hinder them from forcing him out of his rank<sup>t</sup>; and when they were repulsed, taking up his anchor again, he pursued with the rest. But others, varying from this account, say, that he had no anchor of iron fastened to his cuirass, but one engraved on his shield, which was made to turn round incessantly.

LXXV. Sophanes did another signal action when the Athenians besieged Ægina. For he challenged in single combat and killed Eurybates<sup>u</sup> of Argos, who had been victorious in the pentathlum. But sometime after<sup>x</sup> the Persian war, commanding the Athenian forces jointly with Leagrus<sup>y</sup> the son of Glaucon, he was killed by the Edoni at Datos, fighting for the mines of gold, with the same valour he had shewn on all other occasions.

LXXVI. When the Barbarians were thus defeated at Plataea, a woman, who had been a concubine to Pharandates<sup>z</sup> the son of Theaspes a Persian, hearing of the disaster of the Persians, and of the victory obtained by the Greeks, came voluntarily to the army, magnificently dressed, both she and her attendants, in gold and the richest of their attire; and alighting from her chariot, went towards the Lacedæmonians, who were still employed in the slaughter of the enemy; when observing that Pausanias had the direction of all things, and having often heard his name and his country, she addressed herself to him, and embracing his knees, said, “King of Sparta<sup>a</sup>, deliver me, your suppliant, from a slavish captivity. You have already done me one favour, in destroying those, who had had no regard either to the gods or heroes. I am of a Coan family; daughter to Hegetorides the son of Antagoras. The Persian took me away by force at Coos, and kept me to this time.” “Be confident,” replied Pausanias, “partly because thou art come as a suppliant to seek protection; and

<sup>t</sup> The word *ἐκπίπτοντες* ought to be connected with *ἐκ τῆς τάξης*, and has the same signification as *προεξαίссοντες* in ch. lxii. 5. The word is what the grammarians would call *pragrans locutio*; it has the same force as *ἰφ καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκπίπτοντες* were added, as in ch. lxii. 14. or we might understand *ἐκπίπτοντες ἐπὶ αὐτὸν*, *adversus ipsum* Schw.

<sup>u</sup> He was victorious in the Pentathlum at Nemea. See Pausanias, i. 29. who agrees with our author. See also Herodotus, vi. 92. We must not confound this Eurybates with the Eurybates who betrayed Cræsus, whose name became pro-

verbial to designate a traitor. He was of Ephesus, the other of Argos. *Larcher*.

<sup>x</sup> This was B. C. 453. according to a Scholiast on Æschines, quoted by Dodwell de Veter. Græc. et Roman. Cyclis. p. 742. *Larcher*.

<sup>y</sup> Glaucon the son of Leagrus is mentioned by Thucydides, i. 51. Pausanias (i. 29.) mentions this defeat. *Wesseling*.

<sup>z</sup> He commanded the Mares and Colchians. See vii. 79.

<sup>a</sup> Pausanias was not king, but the guardian of the young king, his nephew; and therefore exercised all the functions. See ch. x. and Thucydides, i. 130.



"much more if thou hast spoken the truth, and art indeed the daughter of Hegetorides the Coan, who is the best friend I have in that country." Having thus spoken, he committed her to the care of the ephori, who were present; and afterwards sent her to Ægina<sup>b</sup>, where she desired to go.

LXXVII. Presently after her arrival the Mantineans came up with their forces, when all was over; and finding they were come too late to fight, were much afflicted, and said, they ought to undergo some punishment<sup>c</sup>; and being informed of the flight of the Medes under the command of Artabazus, they wished to pursue them as far as Thessaly, but the Lacedæmonians dissuaded them from so doing. But at their return home, their leaders were all banished. After them came the Eleans, and shewing the same regret, marched back again; but arriving in their own country, they punished their captains also with banishment. Such was the conduct of the Mantineans, and of the Eleans.

LXXVIII. Lampon the son of Pytheas<sup>d</sup>, one of the principal men<sup>e</sup> of Ægina, being then at Plataea in the camp of the Æginetæ, came in haste to Pausanias; and soliciting him to a most impious action, said, "Son of Cleombrotus, you have achieved an action, which, by its greatness and glory, almost surpasses the powers of man's nature: God has enabled you to acquire more glory in preserving Greece from servitude, than any other Greek we have heard of ever obtained. Yet something remains to be done, in order to render your name more famous, and to deter all the Barbarians for the future from undertaking any atrocious actions against the Greeks. You know that after Leonidas was killed at Thermopylæ, Mardonius and Xerxes took off his head, and fixed it on a pole. If you will punish that insolence by a just retaliation, you will be praised, not only by all the Spartans,

<sup>b</sup> Pausanias (iii. 4.) says that she was sent to the isle of Cos with all her wealth. Larcher.

<sup>c</sup> Gronovius says that Livy has borrowed from this passage the following expression; "Forsitan non indigni simus, qui nobismet ipsi mulctam irrogemus." See xxx. 30. But, in my opinion, if Herodotus had wished to express that meaning, he would have written ἐνέωυτοὺς ζημιῶσαι: but as it is, it must be taken as if he had put ζημιωθῆναι; or ἄξιος (τινὰ either Πανσάνην or τοὺς Ἕλληνας) ζημιῶσαι σφας, as the Greeks say ἄξιος ἐστι θανάσαι, by understanding, ἄξιος τοῦ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους θανάσαι αὐτόν. As for the passage in Livy, in the first place we may doubt whether

Livy intended to imitate Herodotus; and secondly, if he did so, he may have misunderstood the Greek phrase, which he now and then has done in Polybius. Schweighauser.

<sup>d</sup> Pytheas was victorious in the Pancratium at Nemea. The fifth Nemean of Pindar is addressed to him. His elder brother Phylacides also distinguished himself in the same way at Nemea, and twice at the Isthmus. The fifth and sixth Isthmian Odes of Pindar are addressed to him. Larcher.

<sup>e</sup> Αἰγωνητῶν τὰ πρῶτα. So Lucretius, i. 87. *prima virorum*; and Ovid, Amor. i. Eleg ix. 37. *summa ducum Atrides*. Larcher.

“ but by the rest of the Greeks ; in a word, if you order Mar-  
 “ donius to be impaled, you revenge the indignity done to  
 “ your uncle Leonidas.” This he said under the impression  
 that he should gratify Pausanias.

LXXIX. But Pausanias answered, “ Friend of Ægina,  
 “ I commend your good intentions and your foresight ; but  
 “ you are far from making a right judgment ; for after having  
 “ highly magnified me, my country, and my achievement, you  
 “ throw all down again, by soliciting me to insult the dead,  
 “ and telling me I shall increase my fame, if I do that, which  
 “ is more fit to be done by Barbarians than by Greeks, and  
 “ which we blame even in them. I cannot therefore in this  
 “ matter please the Æginetæ, nor those who approve of  
 “ such actions ; it is sufficient for me to please the Spartans,  
 “ by doing and saying what is honourable<sup>f</sup>. As for Leonidas,  
 “ whose death you exhort me to revenge, I affirm, that by the  
 “ lives of such an innumerable multitude, we have nobly  
 “ honoured him, and all those who fell at Therinopylæ. Come  
 “ no more then to me with such discourses, nor venture to  
 “ give me such counsel ; and take for a favour, that you now  
 “ escape unpunished.”

LXXX. Lampon having received this answer retired ;  
 and Pausanias, after he had caused proclamation to be made,  
 that no man should meddle with the booty, commanded the  
 Helots to bring together all the riches they could find. Ac-  
 cordingly, dispersing themselves through the camp, they found  
 great quantities of gold and silver in the tents ; couches  
 plated with gold and silver ; bowls, vials, and other drinking  
 vessels of gold ; besides boiling pots of gold and silver, which  
 they found lying in sacks upon the waggons. They took the  
 chains, bracelets, and scymeters of gold from the dead ; but  
 left the rich apparel of various colours, as things of no value.  
 The Helots purloined much of the booty, which they sold to  
 the Æginetæ, producing only so much as they could not hide ;  
 and this was the first foundation of the great wealth of the  
 Æginetæ ; who purchased gold from the Helots, as if it had  
 been brass<sup>g</sup>.

LXXXI. With the tenth part of this collected treasure,  
 the Greeks dedicated to the God at Delphi a tripod of gold,  
 supported by a three-headed serpent of brass<sup>h</sup>, and placed

<sup>f</sup> How different from the Pausanias in  
 Thucydides ! i. 128, &c.

<sup>g</sup> The Swiss, after they had defeated  
 Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, at  
 Granson, took his vases of silver for tin,  
 and sold the diamond of that Prince,  
 which was one of the most valuable in  
 Europe for a florin. See the Memoirs of

Philip de Comines, v. 2. *Wesseling*.

<sup>h</sup> This serpent existed in the time of  
 Pausanias ; (x. 13.) the golden tripod  
 had been taken by the Phocians for the  
 sacred war. Gronovius has given an en-  
 graving of a serpent from Wheeler, but it  
 does not appear to be the one here men-  
 tioned. *Larcher*.



close to the altar; to the God at Olympia, a Jupiter of brass<sup>1</sup>, ten cubits high; and a Neptune of brass, of seven cubits, to the God at the isthmus. When they selected these, they divided the rest of the booty, consisting of gold, silver, and other treasure, together with the concubines of the Persians and all the cattle, according to the merit of each person. What particular presents were given to those who were reputed to have fought with the greatest valour in the battle of Plataea, is reported by none; yet I am of opinion they were considered in a particular manner. But for Pausanias they selected and gave the tenth of all; women, horses, camels, talents, and every thing else in like manner<sup>k</sup>.

LXXXII. Among other things reported to have passed in this expedition, they say, that when Xerxes fled out of Greece, he left all his equipage to Mardonius; and that Pausanias seeing such magnificent furniture of gold, silver, and tapestry of various colours, commanded the cooks and bakers to prepare a supper for him, as they used to do for Mardonius: that when they had so done, in obedience to his command, and Pausanias had viewed the couches of gold and silver, covered with the richest cushions; the tables of the same metals; and the expensive supper prepared; surprised at the profusion he saw before him, he ordered his attendants, in order to amuse himself, to make ready a Lacedæmonian meal: and that, after he had observed the vast difference between the two suppers, he laughed and sent for the Grecian generals, and shewing them both the one and the other, said, "I have called you together, O Grecians, with a design to let you see the folly of the king of the Medes; who leading such a life at home, came hither to pillage us, who fare so hardly."

LXXXIII. Some time after this defeat, many of the Plataeans found treasures of gold and silver, with other riches, buried under ground: and among the dead bodies, when the flesh was consumed from the bones, which lay together at a certain place, they discovered a skull, of one solid bone, without any suture<sup>l</sup>. They found also a lower and an upper jaw,

<sup>l</sup> This statue is described by Pausanias, v. 23.

<sup>k</sup> This battle took place on the 4th of the month of Boedromion, which answers to our 14th of September, B. C. 479.

Many other particulars concerning this battle are given in Plutarch's Life of Aristides.

Plutarch, in his Life of Aristides, says that the battle took place on the 4th of Boedromion, which according to our chronologers would correspond with the

23d of September. But they have preferred the authority of the copies of Plutarch's Life of Camillus, and of his treatise on the Glory of Athens: in both of which the third of the month Boedromion is named as the day of the battle; this therefore brings it to the 22nd of September, according to our chronologers. See Mitford's Greece, ix. 3. note 16.

<sup>1</sup> Aratus mentions (Jul. Poll. Onomast. ii. 4. 38.) that he had seen several heads without sutures. Pliny (Hist. Nat. xi. 27.) describes the bones of the

with all the teeth, both the grinders and the others, connected together, and formed of one single bone<sup>m</sup>; and the skeleton of a man five cubits high.

**LXXXIV.** The next day after the battle, the body of Mardonius had disappeared; though by what person his body was taken away, I never could learn with certainty. But I have heard that many men of almost every nation, were concerned in giving him burial, and I know that divers had large presents from Artontes the son of Mardonius, on that account. Yet who, among them all, was the man that carried off and buried the body, I could never discover; however, a report has been spread abroad, concerning Dionysiophanes<sup>n</sup> the Ephesian, as if he had buried Mardonius. Thus he was buried.

**LXXXV.** But the Greeks, after they had parted the booty in the fields of Plataea, buried their dead, each nation separately<sup>o</sup>. The Lacedæmonians made three graves; in one of which they interred the Irenes<sup>p</sup>, and Posidonius, Amompharetus, Phylocion, and Callicrates, who were of that class; in another they put the rest of the Spartans; and in the third, the Helots. The Tegeatæ buried all their dead together in one grave. The Athenians did the same; and so did the Megareans and Phliasians, to those of their forces who were killed by the enemy's cavalry. All these sepulchres were filled with the bodies of men; but the rest, which are seen about Plataea, were erected, as I am informed, by those, who being ashamed of their absence from the battle, threw up those mounds which are empty, to deceive posterity. Among these, there is one, bearing the name of the Æginetæ; which, I have heard, was erected at their request ten years after this war, by Cleades the son of Autodicus, a Plataean, obliged to them by the ties of hospitality.

**LXXXVI.** When the Greeks had buried their dead in the territories of Plataea, they took a resolution in council, to lead their army to Thebes, and to demand the partizans of the Medes, especially Timegenidas and Attaginus, the ringleaders

human head thus; "Ossa...serratis pec-  
"tinatim structa compagibus." Father  
Hardouin, in a note on this passage, re-  
lates that Albert, Marquis of Brande-  
bourg, surnamed the German Achilles,  
who was born in 1414, had a skull with-  
out a suture. *Larcher*.

<sup>m</sup> Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, had also  
teeth of one single bone, although each  
tooth was clearly marked. So also Eu-  
ryphyes of Cyrene, and several others.  
See Valerius Max. i. 7. 12. *Larcher*.

<sup>n</sup> This agrees with Pausanias, ix. 2.

<sup>o</sup> Pausanias (ix. 2.) says that the La-  
cedæmonians and Athenians had each a  
separate grave, the other Greeks a com-  
mon one.

<sup>p</sup> No one has better explained who  
were meant by the Irenes, than Plutarch,  
in his Life of Lycurgus, (p. 50.) "The  
"Lacedæmonians call *Irenes* those who  
"have attained their second year, from  
"the time that they left the class of  
"boys. An Iren, when twenty years  
"old, commands his company in battle."  
*Wesseling*.



of the faction; and not to depart till they had destroyed the city, if the Thebans should refuse to surrender them. Having all consented to these measures, they broke up; and on the eleventh day after the battle, arriving at Thebes, they formed the siege and demanded the men. But receiving a denial from the Thebans, they ravaged the country, and made approaches to the walls.

LXXXVII. On the twentieth day after these hostilities began, which the Grecians incessantly continued, Timegenidas spoke thus to the Thebans: "Men of Thebes<sup>a</sup>, since the Greeks are resolved not to withdraw their army, till either they shall have taken the city, or you deliver us into their hands, let not the land of Bœotia undergo farther miseries for our sake. If under the pretext of demanding our persons, they design to exact a sum of money, let us give it from the public treasures; for we were not the only partizans of the Medes, but joined with them by general consent. But if, on the other hand, they really besiege Thebes because they would have us delivered up, we will present ourselves before them to plead our cause." The Thebans, approving his proposition as just and seasonable, immediately sent a herald to acquaint Pausanias, that they were willing to surrender the persons he demanded.

LXXXVIII. After this agreement was made, Attaginus made his escape from Thebes; but, in place of him, his sons were sent out to Pausanias, who acquitted them from the crime<sup>r</sup>, and said, that boys could have had no part in the guilt of joining with the Medes. Of the others who were delivered up by the Thebans, some thought that they should be permitted to plead their cause, and particularly expected to repel the charge by bribery; but Pausanias, suspecting their intention, dismissed the confederate army, and conducting the prisoners to Corinth, put them all to death. Such

<sup>a</sup> The gallant behaviour of Timegenidas will remind the English reader of the siege of Calais by Edward the 3rd, when Eustace de St. Pierre, one of the principal inhabitants, behaved precisely in a similar manner. He declared himself willing to suffer death for his friends and fellow-citizens. The entreaties of Philippa induced the English monarch to behave with more magnanimity than we find Pausanias did. See Hume's Hist. of England, vol. ii. ch. 14. *Beloe.*

<sup>r</sup> "Ferret ne civitas ulla latorem istiusmodi legis, ut condemnaretur filius aut nepos, si pater aut avus deliquisset?" Cic. de Nat. Deor. iii. 38.

This is also a divine law; "The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the fathers: every man shall be punished for his own sin." Deut. xxiv. 16. Again: "The soul that sinneth, it shall die. The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son; The righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked upon him." Ezekiel xviii. 20. In obedience to this law Amaziah would not put to death the children of his father's murderers. See 2 Kings xiv. 6.

was the event of things in the territories of Plataea and of Thebes.

LXXXIX. In the mean time Artabazus the son of Pharnaces, continuing his flight from Plataea, arrived in the country of the Thessalians; who receiving him in a friendly manner, and being altogether ignorant of what had passed, asked him news of the rest of the army. But Artabazus considering, that if he should discover the whole truth, both he and his forces would be in danger of destruction, (because he thought every one would fall upon him, when they should be informed of what had happened,) told nothing of it to the Phocians; and to the Thessalians spoke thus: "Men of Thessaly, you see I am hastening to Thrace with the utmost expedition, being sent with these forces from the camp upon a certain affair. Mardonius with his army follows me close, and may be suddenly expected. Receive him as a friend, and do him all the good offices you can; for you will never have cause to repent of such conduct." Having said this, he broke up with his army, and marched through Thessaly and Macedonia directly towards Thrace, with great haste, and by the shortest ways of the midland country, as he really was urged on by necessity. But arriving at Byzantium, after he had left many of his men by the way, who were part killed by the Thracians, and part overpowered by hunger and fatigue, he crossed over in boats, and thus returned into Asia.

XC. The same day on which the Persians were defeated at Plataea, they received another blow at Mycale in Ionia. Whilst the Greeks\*, under the conduct of Leotychides the Lacedæmonian continued with their ships at Delos, Lampou the son of Thrasycleus, Athenagoras the son of Archestratides, and Hegesistratus the son of Aristagoras, arrived there from Samos; being sent thither privately with a message by the Samians, who had taken care to conceal their intentions both from the Persians and from the tyrant Theomestor†, the son of Androdamas, who had been set over them by the Persians. These ambassadors, upon their arrival, went to the generals; and Hegesistratus, among many and various arguments, said, that the Ionians would not fail to revolt from the Persians, so soon as they should see the Grecian fleet; and that the Barbarians would never stand an engagement; or if they should, the booty would be greater than could be found in any other place. He adjured them by the gods they worshipped in common, that they would deliver the Greeks from servitude, and repel the Barbarians; which he affirmed was

\* See viii. 130—132. † In viii. 85. the reason of his being appointed tyrant is given.



easy to be done, because their ships sailed badly, and were in no way a match for those of Greece: he added, that if they suspected any fraud to lie concealed under this invitation; they were ready to go on board with them, and to remain in the ships as hostages.

XCI. But as the Samian stranger continued his solicitations with much earnestness, Leotychides, either for the sake of the presage, or by chance, the Deity so directing it, put this question; "O Samian friend, what is your name?" To this the other replied, "Hegesistratus;" upon which Leotychides, interrupting the rest of his discourse, if indeed he intended any, "Samian friend," said he, "I accept the omen"; "do you therefore yourself, and let those who are with you, give us a solemn promise, that the Samians will be zealous allies, and then you may depart."

XCII. When he had said this he proceeded<sup>\*</sup> to bring the matter to a conclusion; for the Samians having on their part given their promise and oath, with great readiness, to be the confederates of the Greeks, set sail to return home; except only Hegesistratus, whose name Leotychides taking for a presage of good fortune, ordered him to accompany them in the expedition. The Grecians continued in their station that day, and on the next sacrificed auspiciously, by the hands of the augur Deiphonus, the son of Evenius, a native of Apollonia in the gulph of Ionia.

XCIII. To Evenius, the father of this Deiphonus, the following circumstance happened. In the territories of Apollonia, a flock of sheep, sacred to the sun, feed by day on the banks of a river, which, descending from the mountain Lacomon, runs through that country into the sea, near the port of Oricus: but by night they are folded in a cave, far distant from the city, and guarded by men chosen annually to that end, out of the most eminent among the citizens for birth and riches; because the people of Apollonia set a high value upon these sheep, pursuant to the admonition of an oracle. Evenius being elected to this office, guarded them in this place. One night he happened to fall asleep during his watch, and at that time some wolves entered the cave, and destroyed about sixty of the sheep. When he discovered what had happened, he kept silence, and said nothing to any man, intending to

<sup>u</sup> The name Hegesistratus signifies, the leader of an army. A similar presage occurred to Augustus at Actium; a man, whose name was Eutyches, (fortunate,) drove an ass named Nicon (victory) past the army. From the same superstition the ancients, when about to begin any memorable thing, used to se-

lect those as assistants, whose names were fortunate. So Vespasian, when about to dedicate the Capitol. See Tacitus Histor. iv. 53. and the note of Lipsius. Wesseling.

<sup>x</sup> Literally, *sermoni rem ipsam adjecit*, i. e. *rem ipsam pæstitit*. Schweigh.

purchase others, and put them in the place of those that had been destroyed. This circumstance, however, did not escape the notice of the Apolloniataë. As soon as they heard it, they brought him before<sup>y</sup> the court of justice, and sentenced him to lose his eyes, for having fallen asleep during his watch. Immediately after they had thus punished Evenius with blindness, the sheep brought no more lambs, nor the earth her usual increase. When they had consulted the oracles of Dodona and Delphi, and enquired of the prophets, to know the cause of the present calamities, they told them<sup>z</sup>, that they had unjustly put out the eyes of Evenius, the keeper of the sacred sheep: that the Gods themselves had sent in the wolves, and would not cease avenging him, till the people of Apollonia should make him full satisfaction, and such amends for the injury he had received, as he himself should choose, and judge sufficient; after which they would make so valuable a present to Evenius, that the greater part of men should pronounce him happy from the possession of them.

XCIV. These predictions the people of Apollonia kept secret, and appointed some of their citizens to negotiate the matter; which they did in this manner. Having found Evenius sitting on a chair, they went up, and having sat down by him, began to converse on indifferent subjects, till at length they began to sympathize in his misfortune, and by this means deceiving him, they asked him, what reparation he would choose, if the Apolloniataë were disposed to give him satisfaction. Evenius, who had not heard of the oracle, said, if they would give him the lands of inheritance belonging to two citizens he named, and which he knew to be the best of that country; and would moreover add to that gift the most magnificent house of the city; he would, if put in possession of those things, lay aside his anger and be contented with that satisfaction. Those who sat by him immediately taking hold of his answer, said, “the Apolloniataë offer you the reparation “you demand for the loss of your eyes, in obedience to an “oracle they have received.” Evenius, when he heard the whole story, was very indignant, to find himself deceived by this artifice. However, the Apolloniataë, having first purchased them of the owners, made him a present of the lands he chose; and in a short time he obtained the spirit of divination, and by that means acquired a considerable name.

XCV. Deiphonus was the son of this Evenius, and offi-

<sup>y</sup> Herodotus always uses the preposition *ὑπὸ* in these expressions; others use *ἐν*. In like manner the Latins say, “*sub* iudice lis est.” Schweighauser.

<sup>z</sup> Nothing else can be understood by

*πρόπαντα* than the answers which follow. For the word does not necessarily signify a prediction, but any answer of an oracle. See also v. 63, 5. Schweigh.



ciated as augur in the army, being conducted thither by the Corinthians. Yet I have formerly heard, that he was not really the son of Evenius, but having usurped that name, he travelled through Greece and let out his services for money.

XCVI. The Grecians having sacrificed favourably, departed from Delos with their fleet, standing towards Samos; and arriving before Calami<sup>a</sup>, belonging to the Samians, came to an anchor near the temple of Juno, and made all things ready for an engagement. But the Persians being informed of their approach, and having determined not to hazard a sea fight, because they thought themselves inferior in force to the Grecians, permitted the Phœnicians to return home, and drew up all their other ships on the shore of the continent. This they did, that they might be under the protection of their land forces, which were encamped at Mycale, to the number of sixty thousand men; having been left for a guard to Ionia, by the order of Xerxes, under the conduct of Tigranes, a man surpassing all the Persians in beauty and stature. To that army the sea commanders resolved to fly for protection; to draw their ships to the shore, and to throw up an intrenchment quite round, which might serve for a defence to the fleet, and for a place of refuge to themselves.

XCVII. Having taken this resolution they set sail, and having passed the temple of the Eumenides in Mycale, arrived at the rivers Gæson<sup>b</sup> and Scolopois, where a temple stands dedicated to Ceres of Eleusis, built by Philistus the son of Pasicles, who accompanied Neleus<sup>c</sup> the son of Codrus when he founded Miletus. There, having drawn the ships a-shore, they encompassed them with a wall of stone and timber, having cut down the fruit-trees for this purpose, and drove in stakes around it: for having deliberated on the matter, they prepared both to sustain a siege, and to come off victorious.

XCVIII. When the Greeks understood that the Barbarians were retired to the continent, vexed that the enemy had thus escaped, they began to doubt what course to take; and whether they should return home, or proceed to the Hellespont: but at length laying aside the thoughts of both these,

<sup>a</sup> Alexis of Samos (Athenæus, xiii. 4.) says in his second book on the limits of Samos, that the courtezans who followed Pericles, when he besieged Samos, built of the money which they acquired by their charms, the temple of Venus of Samos, whom some call Venus among the Calami (reeds.) A place of this name is not mentioned by any geographer; but it must have been to the south-west of the city of Samos. See my *Memoire sur*

Venus, p. 146, &c. *Larcher*.

<sup>b</sup> The river Gæson is mentioned in Athenæus vi. ; it is called Gessus in Pliny, v. 29, 31. and Gæsus in Mela, i. 17. Scolopois is not mentioned by any other author, but it appears by this passage to be a river, which discharged itself into the sea not far from the Gæson. *Schw.*

<sup>c</sup> Concerning the colonization of Ionia, see i. 145. and the remarks at the end of book i.

they determined to make to the continent; and having prepared ladders for landing<sup>d</sup>, and all other things necessary for fighting at sea, they sailed to Mycale. When they arrived near the camp, they saw no enemy in readiness to meet them; but all their ships drawn within the circumvallation, and a numerous army disposed along the coast. Upon which Leotychides advancing before the rest, and standing in to the shore as near as he could, made this proclamation by means of a herald to the Ionians: "Men of Ionia, all those among you "who hear me, hearken with attention to my words; for the "Persians will understand nothing of the advice I give you. "When the battle begins, every one of you ought before all "things to remember *Liberty*; and next the watch-word, "*Hebe*. Let him, who does not hear me, be informed by "those who do hear." In doing this his meaning was the same as that of Themistocles at Artemisium<sup>e</sup>; for he expected, that if these words were concealed from the Barbarians, the Ionians would be persuaded to revolt, or if they should be reported, the Persians might become suspicious of the Greeks.

XCIX. When Leotychides had given the Ionians this suggestion, the Grecians in the next place putting to shore, landed their men, and drew up in order of battle: which when the Persians saw, and were informed of the exhortation they had made to the Ionians, they first disarmed the Samians, as they suspected that they favoured the Grecian side; because they had already redeemed all the Athenians taken in Attica by the forces of Xerxes, who were brought in the fleet to Asia, and had sent them back to Athens, furnished with provisions for their voyage: on this account they were particularly suspected, as they had set at liberty five hundred of the enemies of Xerxes. Having done this, they next committed the care of guarding the passes that lead to the eminences of Mycale to the Milesians, as they were best acquainted with the country, and intending under that colour to remove them from the army. When they had taken these precautions, to make sure of those among the Ionians who seemed most likely<sup>f</sup> to endea-

<sup>d</sup> Thucydides (iv. 12.) makes use of this word, to express the ladder or steps by which Brasidas attempted to land at Pylus. They might also serve for boarding an enemy's ship.

<sup>e</sup> See viii. 22.

<sup>f</sup> The verb *καταδοκεῖν* in other passages of our author, when put absolutely, or with an accusative and infinitive, or with an accusative only, has nearly the same force as the simple word *δοκεῖν*, *existimare*. In the present passage the prepo-

sition *κατὰ* adds a peculiar force to the word, so that it signifies, to form an opinion *against* one, i. e. to condemn, or at least to suspect. When used in this sense it might seem to require to be joined with a genitive case; but as our author, instead of *καταγελᾶν τινός* and *καταρίνειν τινός*, says *καταγελᾶν τινί*, (iii. 37, 4. 38, 2. and in many other passages,) and *καταρίνειν τινί*, (vii. 146, 6.) so he has used *καταδοκεῖν τινί*. Schweighauser.



vour a change, if they could come at the power, they carried their bucklers together<sup>g</sup>, in order that they might serve as a rampart.

C. On the other part, the Greeks, after they had prepared all things for a battle, advanced towards the Barbarians; as they were marching, a herald's staff was seen lying upon the shore, and a sudden rumour spread through the army, that the Greeks had defeated the forces of Mardonius in the territories of Bœotia. Thus the interference of heaven<sup>h</sup> is manifest by many plain signs; for as the blow already given at Plataea, and that now ready to be given at Mycale, happened both on the same day, the news thus reaching the Greeks, inspired their army with a greater resolution, and a more eager zeal to meet the present danger.

CI. The following coincidence is, besides, a proof of the interposition of the Deity. A temple dedicated to Ceres of Eleusis, stood near the places where both engagements took place. For at Plataea, as I have already said<sup>i</sup>, they fought near the temple of Ceres; and were now about to fight again in Mycale, near another belonging to the same Goddess. The rumour of the victory obtained by the Greeks under the conduct of Pausanias, which came to Mycale, turned out to be correct; because the battle of Plataea was fought while it was yet morning, and this of Mycale in the afternoon<sup>k</sup>: but that both happened on the same day of the same month, was ascertained very soon after. Before they heard the fame of the victory of Plataea, they had been in great fear, not so much for themselves, as for the safety of Greece; fearing lest Mardonius should defeat the Grecian army: but after they had that rumour among them, they advanced towards the enemy with greater readiness and alacrity. And thus both the Greeks and Barbarians hastened to begin the fight, being equally persuaded that the islands and the Hellespont must be the reward of the victorious.

CII. The Athenians<sup>l</sup>, with those who were drawn up next them, formed nearly half the army, and had to advance through a level country, and along the shore; but the Lacedæmonians, with those who were stationed after them, had to march over a ravine and some hills. So that whilst the Lacedæmonians were obliged to take a wider compass, those of the other wing were already engaged with the enemy. The Persians, so long

<sup>g</sup> See note on ch. lxi, &c.

<sup>h</sup> Diodorus Siculus, (xi. 35.) and Polyænus, (Stratag. i. 33.) with more prudence suppose this a *ruse de guerre* of the Spartan commander to animate his troops.

<sup>i</sup> In ch. lxi and lxiv.

<sup>k</sup> See note on ii. 173.

<sup>l</sup> They were commanded by Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron; the Archon Eponymus. Pausanias, iii. 7.

as their bucklers were not overthrown, defended themselves strenuously, and were not inferior; but when the Athenians and those next them, had mutually encouraged one another, and applied with more vigour to the battle, to the end that they, and not the Lacedæmonians, might have the honour of the action, the face of affairs immediately became changed; for they broke through the shields of the enemy, and fell in a firm body upon the Persians. At first they were received with vigour; but after the Persians had continued to defend themselves during a considerable time, they fled to their intrenchments; and the Athenians, with the forces which were drawn up next to them, consisting of the Corinthians, the Sicyonians, and the Trœzenians, pursued them so close, that they entered their camp at the same time. When the Barbarians saw their intrenchments taken, they thought no longer of resisting, but betook themselves all to flight, except the Persians; who, though reduced to a small number<sup>m</sup>, still continued to resist the Greeks, who kept constantly pouring into the intrenchment. Of the Persian generals, two made their escape, and two were killed. Artayntes and Ithramites, commanders of the naval forces, fled: Mardontes<sup>n</sup>, and Tigranes general of the land army, fell while fighting.

CIII. At length, whilst the Persians were yet resisting, the Lacedæmonians arrived with the other part of the forces, and made an end of what remained. On the part of the Greeks many were killed; especially of the Sicyonians, who lost their general Perilaus. The Samians, who were in the camp of the Medes, and had been disarmed before the action, when they saw the event doubtful at the beginning of the fight, did all they could to help the Greeks; and the rest of the Ionians, seeing the Samians lead the way, abandoned the enemy in like manner, and fell upon the forces of the Barbarians.

CIV. The Milesians<sup>o</sup> had been appointed to guard the passes for the Persians, in order for their safety, to the end that, if such a misfortune should overtake them as happened, they might get safe into the mountains of Mycale by their guidance. For this reason, and lest they should attempt any alteration by staying in the army, the Milesians were posted in those stations; but, acting quite contrary to their orders, they brought back, by other ways, to the enemy, many of those that fled out of the battle; and at last shewed greater

<sup>m</sup> Κατ' ὀλίγους γενόμενοι is the same as ὀλίγοι γενόμενοι. Schweigh.

<sup>n</sup> Mardontes commanded the land troops that were to serve as Epibatae, but these had probably been landed. Larch.

<sup>o</sup> The genitive τῶν Μιλήσιων is not

governed by προσετέτακτο. Our author would have said properly τοῖσι Πέρσιν τὰς διόδους τηρεῖν: but, as another dative Μιλησίοισι is close at hand, he put a genitive in order to vary the sound. Schweigh.



fierceness than all others in the slaughter of the Barbarians. Thus Ionia revolted a second time<sup>p</sup> from the Persians.

CV. In this battle the Athenians fought with the greatest valour, among all the Grecians; and among the Athenians, Hermolycus<sup>q</sup>, the son of Euthynus, who had distinguished himself in the pancratium: this Hermolycus was afterwards killed at Cynus, in the territories of Carystus, in the war between the Athenians and the Carystians<sup>r</sup>, and was buried at Geræstus. After the Athenians, those that distinguished themselves were the Corinthians, the Troezenians, and the Sicyonians.

CVI. The Grecians, after they had killed great numbers of the Barbarians, both in the field and in the pursuit, burnt the ships and the whole camp, and brought out upon the shore all the booty, among which were several chests of money. Having done this they sailed to Samos; and, arriving there, consulted together about transplanting the Ionians, and what country in their possession it was best to settle them in, intending to leave Ionia to the Barbarians, because they judged themselves unable to protect and guard the Ionians at all times; and had no hope, unless they did protect them, that they would be unpunished for their revolt from the Persians. The principal of the Peloponnesians proposed to expel those nations of Greece, which had sided with the Medes, and to give their territories and cities of commerce to the Ionians; but the Athenians were by no means of opinion, either that the Ionians should be removed, or that the Peloponnesians should intermeddle with the affairs of their colonies. As they opposed, the Peloponnesians readily yielded to the Athenians: and after they had obliged the Samians, Chians, Lesbians, and other islanders, who were then in their army, to swear that they would remain firm and not revolt, they took them into the confederacy, and immediately sailed for the Hellespont, in order to ruin the bridges, which they imagined still to find entire.

CVII. In the mean time, the Barbarians, who fled out of the field, and were forced to betake themselves to the eminences of Mycale, made off towards Sardis, reduced to an inconsiderable number. But as they were upon their way, Ma-

<sup>p</sup> Ionia was first subjugated by Hapagus, (i. 164, &c.) It revolted for the first time, v. 28. and was again reduced, vi. 32. under the Persian yoke. *Larcher*.

<sup>q</sup> A statue was erected to this Hermolycus, in the citadel of Athens. See Pausanias, i. 23.

<sup>r</sup> Thucydides mentions this war thus: "The Athenians had also a war with

"the Carystians, in which the rest of "Eubœa had no part. It ended by a "treaty." Book i. ch. 98. This historian places the war after the taking of Eion on the Strymon, and the isle of Scyros; and before the reduction of Naxos. Dodwell, from these data, fixes it B. C. 467. *Larcher*.

sistes, the son of Darius, having been present in the late unfortunate action, gave many hard words to Artayntes; and among other reproaches told him; that he had shewn less courage than a woman, in performing the part of a general so ill; and deserved the worst of punishment, for bringing so great a disaster upon the king's house. Now, because among the Persians to tell a man he has less courage than a woman is accounted the most insupportable of all affronts, Artayntes, having already borne many reproaches, lost all patience, and drew his scymetar to kill Masistes. But Xenagoras the son of Praxilaus, a Halicarnassian, who was behind Artayntes, seeing him rushing upon Masistes, seized him round the middle, and having lifted him up in his arms, threw him down on the ground; and in the mean while the guards of Masistes came up and protected him. By this action Xenagoras acquired the favour of Masistes, and of Xerxes himself, for saving his brother; and was rewarded by the king with the government of all Cilicia. Nothing more passed among the Barbarians in their way; but when they arrived at Sardis, they found Xerxes there; having continued in that place from the time he fled thither from Athens, after his ill success in the engagement by sea.

CVIII. During his stay at Sardis he fell in love with the wife of Masistes, who also was then in that city; but when she would not be moved by his solicitations<sup>3</sup>, he did not wish to offer any violence, out of regard to his brother; (which same consideration was also a restraint to the woman, because she well knew that she would not meet with any violent treatment;) and as he was then shut out from any other resource, he resolved to marry a daughter she had by Masistes to his son Darius, thinking by that means that he should be more likely to get her into his power. Accordingly the contract was made; and when the usual ceremonies were performed, he departed for Susa. When he arrived there, he introduced the wife of Darius into his palace; and then his passion for the wife of Masistes ceased; and changing his inclinations, he fell in love, and succeeded, with the wife of Darius, the daughter of Masistes, whose name was Artaynte.

CIX. This intrigue was in course of time discovered in the following manner. Amestris<sup>4</sup> the wife of Xerxes having

<sup>3</sup> The verb *προσέπειν* is used of those who are sent to solicit a woman's affections. *Larcher*.

<sup>4</sup> Many learned men, and Scaliger among the rest, (Emendat. Temp. vi.) suppose that this princess is the same as Esther. A vain similitude of name, the cruelty of Amestris, of which Herodotus

relates several instances, and the barbarous manner in which Esther treated the ten children of Haman, the enemy of the Jews, have given rise to this supposition. But Esther was of a Jewish family, Amestris of a Persian. The father of the latter was a Satrap, named Onophas, according to Ctesias, and O-



woven a mantle of various colours, large and beautiful, made a present of it to Xerxes; being delighted with this present, he put it on, and went to Artaynte. Being pleased with her also, he bid her ask whatever she pleased as a reward for her favours, adding, that she should have whatever she asked. Upon this invitation (for it was destined<sup>u</sup> that misfortunes should befall the whole family of Masistes) she said to Xerxes, Will you then give me whatever I shall ask? He said he would, and affirmed his promise by an oath; imagining that she would ask for every thing rather than his dress. But he had no sooner sworn, than she boldly demanded the mantle. Xerxes being unwilling to comply, and endeavouring to get off by any contrivance he could invent, lest Amestris should make a plain discovery of an intrigue she only suspected before, offered her immense treasures, with cities, and an army, to be solely at her disposal, which is one of the greatest presents that can be made in Persia. At last, finding she would not be persuaded, he gave her the mantle; and she, being overjoyed with the present, put it on, and vainly prided herself upon it: which circumstance soon came to the ears of Amestris.

CX. When she heard what had been done, she was not angry with Artaynte; but believing her mother to be the author and contriver of all, determined to destroy the wife of Masistes. To that end she waited till her husband Xerxes should make the royal feast, by the Persians called *Tycta*<sup>s</sup>, and in the language of Greece Telion, which is celebrated once every year on the king's birth-day, when he alone anoints<sup>y</sup> his head, and makes presents to the Persians. Amestris having waited to that day, asked Xerxes to give her the wife of Masistes for a present. The king considered it a dreadful and cruel thing to give up the wife of his brother, and especially as she was innocent of the charge; for he was not ignorant of her motive for making that request.

CXI. At last, however, as she persevered in her request, and as he was constrained by the custom of Persia, which forbids the denial of any thing during the royal feast, he con-

tanés, according to Herodotus, vii. 61. If we are to depend on the vain similarity of name, we may as well say that Esther is the same as Atossa, the wife of Darius, for she was also called Hadassa. But I think we ought not to conclude that Darius is the same as Ahasuerus. *Larcher*.

<sup>u</sup> In the original τῇ δὲ κακῶς γὰρ—πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπε is equivalent to ἡ δὲ (τῇ γὰρ πανοικίῃ ἔδεε κακῶς γενέσθαι) πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπε. Herodotus frequently uses

that kind of expression. *Schweighauser*.

<sup>s</sup> Scaliger says this word signifies the throne. Reland on that account translates the preceding line in the original, the day on which he was made king. But the sentence will not admit of that interpretation. See the notes of Larcher and Wesseling.

<sup>y</sup> We must doubtless understand by this that the kings on this day pay peculiar attention to their hair, and perhaps they then perfume the head. *Larcher*.

sented with the utmost reluctance to the request of Amestris ; and putting the woman into her hands, told her she might do as pleased her best. But immediately after, having sent for his brother, he said to him, " Masistes, you are my brother, " the son of Darius, and, which is yet more, a valiant man. " Be persuaded by me to cohabit no longer with the wife you " now have, and I will give you my own daughter in her " stead. Make her your wife, and dismiss your present one, " since it seems good to me." Masistes, astonished to hear these words, answered, " Sir, what importunate discourse is " this? You bid me dismiss a woman, who is in every respect " agreeable to me, by whom I have three young sons, besides daughters, of which you have chosen one to be your " son's wife ; and then to marry your daughter. But, O king, " though I set a due value upon the honour of being thought " worthy of your daughter, yet I shall do neither of these " things ; and therefore let not your desire to bring about " this matter put you upon offering violence to my inclinations. Some other person, not inferior to me, will be " found for your daughter. In the mean time permit me to " keep my wife." When he had made this answer, Xerxes in a great rage replied, " You have then brought matters to " this, Masistes ; neither will I offer you my daughter for a " wife, nor shall you any longer live with your present one ; " to the end you may learn to accept what I offer." Masistes having heard these words retired, and as he went out, said, " O king, you have not yet taken away my life."

CXII. Whilst Xerxes was in conference with his brother, Amestris sent for his guards, and ordered them to mutilate the wife of Masistes. She cut off her breasts, which she threw to the dogs, her nose, ears, and lips, and cut out her tongue ; and in that mangled condition sent her home.

CXIII. Masistes had not yet heard any thing of this ; but suspecting some injury was intended him, he returned to his house with great haste ; where finding his wife so barbarously mutilated, he immediately consulted with his sons ; and accompanied by them and others, departed for Bactria ; designing to induce the satrapy of Bactria to revolt, and to annoy the king as much as he could : in which design, as I conjecture, he must have succeeded, had he been able to arrive among the Bactrians and Saces ; for he was governor of Bactria, and much beloved by both those nations. But Xerxes, being informed of his intentions, sent some troops after him, who killed him and his sons upon the way, and cut his forces in pieces. Such were the circumstances which attended the amour of Xerxes and the death of Masistes.

CXIV. The Greeks who sailed from Mycale towards the



Hellespont, being overtaken by tempestuous weather, put in about Lecton<sup>2</sup>; and from thence arriving at Abydos, they found the bridges broken in pieces, which they thought to have found entire, and which were the principal motive for their sailing to the Hellespont. In these circumstances Leotychides with the Peloponnesians determined to return to Greece; but the Athenians with their captain Xanthippus resolved to stay, and to make an attempt upon Chersonesus. Accordingly, after the Peloponnesians were withdrawn, the Athenians crossed over from Abydos, and landing in Chersonesus, besieged Sestos.

CXV. To that place, as to the strongest fortress in the neighbourhood, great numbers came from the adjacent country, when they heard that the Greeks were arrived in the Hellespont; and among others, Œobazus a Persian from Cardia, who had already caused all the materials of the bridges to be brought thither. The inhabitants were Æolians; but a great multitude of Persians and their confederates had collected there.

CVI. The government of the whole province was in the hands of Artayctes, a Persian, of a detestable and impious character, who had been placed in that station by Xerxes; he had even deceived the king, as he marched to Athens, when he asked for the treasures of Protesilaus<sup>a</sup> the son of Iphicles, which were at Elæus. For in the city of Elæus in Chersonesus, the sepulchre of Protesilaus was erected in the midst of a sacred inclosure; and a great sum of money, with gold and silver vessels, robes, brass, and other offerings which were there, were taken from thence by Artayctes since the king had given them to him. He deceived Xerxes by these words: "O king, there is here the habitation of a certain Grecian, who having entered your territories with an army, met with a just punishment and perished. Give me the house of this man, that for the future none may dare to invade any part of your dominions." By this representation he would easily persuade Xerxes to grant it, as he had no suspicion of his intentions. He told him Protesilaus had invaded the royal dominions, because the Persians imagine that all Asia belongs to them<sup>b</sup> and the reigning monarch. When the treasures had been granted he carried them away to Sestos; and sowed part

<sup>a</sup> This was a promontory at the western extremity of Ida, and formed the northern boundary of the gulph of Adramythium. It is now called Cape Baba, according to D'Anville. The Turks call it Mpampa Mpornou. *Larcher's Table.*

<sup>a</sup> Protesilaus was a Thessalian. He went to the siege of Troy at the head of

the troops of Phylace, Pyrrhasus, Iton, &c. He was killed by a Trojan while disembarking. Some say this Trojan was Æneas, others Euphorbus, others Hector and Achates. *Larcher.*

<sup>b</sup> This was before mentioned at the end of ch. iv. book 1. See also vii. 11.

of the inclosure, and turned cattle into the other; and whenever he went to Elæus, he used to lie with women<sup>c</sup> in the sanctuary. This man being now besieged by the Athenians, was utterly unprepared to defend himself, as he never expected the Greeks; so that they fell upon him, in some way, when he was unprovided.

CXVII. But while they were engaged in this enterprise, autumn came on, and the Athenians growing uneasy to be so far from home, and at being unable to take the city, besought their leaders to conduct them back to their own country. This, the generals said, they would not do, till either they should take the place, or be recalled by the people of Athens: so that they then acquiesced in their present condition.

CXVIII. In the mean time those who were with Artayctes in the city, being reduced to the last extremity, boiled and ate the cords of their beds; and when that food likewise failed, Artayctes and Œobazus, with the rest of the Persians, made their escape under cover of night, out of the back part of the town, which was least frequented by the enemy. In the morning, the Chersonesites from their towers having first given notice to the Athenians of what had passed, opened their gates; and some of the Athenian forces took possession of the city, whilst the greater part went in pursuit of the enemy.

CXIX. The Thracians of Apsynthus seizing upon Œobazus as he fled through Thrace, sacrificed him to Plistorus<sup>d</sup>, a God of the country, according to their custom, and killed all his companions in another manner. But Artayctes and his company, who had fled out of the city after the others were overtaken a little above Ægos-Potami, where, after they had defended themselves a considerable time, some were killed upon the place, and the rest, with Artayctes and his son, were made prisoners, and carried back to Sestos.

CXX. The Chersonesites say, that one of his guards saw a thing prodigious, as he stood broiling salted fish; the pieces which lay upon the fire leapt and quivered like fish newly taken out of the water; and that, when divers persons crowded about the place and wondered at the sight, Artayctes observing the miracle, called the man who broiled the fish, and said to him, "Athenian friend, be not afraid; you are not at all concerned in this prodigy. Protesilaus, though dead and embalmed at Elæus, admonishes me by this sign that the Gods have given him power to revenge himself upon the person who has injured him. Resolving therefore to make him reparation, I will consecrate a hundred talents to his divinity, instead of the riches I took out of his temple; and I will give two

<sup>c</sup> See vii. 33.

<sup>d</sup> This deity is quite unknown.



“ hundred talents to the Athenians, if they will spare my life, “ and the life of my son.” But their general Xanthippus would not be persuaded by these promises; partly because he himself was averse to the thing, and partly because the people of Elæus, to avenge the injury done to Protesilaus, earnestly solicited him that Artayctes might be put to death. Having therefore conducted him to that part of the shore where the bridges of Xerxes terminated; or, as others say, to an eminence above the city of Madytus, they caused him to be impaled; and at the same time stoned his son before his eyes.

CXXI. When the Athenians had done these things, they returned with their fleet to Greece; carrying, besides other riches, all the materials of the bridges, in order to consecrate them in their temples; and nothing more was done that year.

CXXII. This Artayctes, thus impaled by the Greeks, was descended by the male line from Artembares, who in his time framed a proposal for the Persians, which they adopted and addressed to Cyrus in these terms: “ Since Jupiter has given “ the superiority to the Persians, and among men, to thee, O “ Cyrus, as you have overthrown Astyages, and since we possess a narrow, and that a barren, country, let us remove from “ this, and take possession of a better. Many such are near “ our confines, and many at a greater distance. The possession of one of these will render us more revered by most “ men; and this conduct becomes a people, who have the “ power in their hands. In a word, what opportunity can “ ever be more favourable to us than the present, when we “ have the command of so many nations, and the dominion of “ all Asia?” Cyrus heard these words without wonder, and bid them do as they desired; but withal admonished them to prepare for the future to obey, and not to command, as in time past: because nature has so ordered things, that delicate countries<sup>e</sup> produce a delicate race, for the same land is not

<sup>e</sup> The Father of Medicine confirms what Herodotus says. After having described the advantages, which the temperate parts of Asia possess over Greece, he adds, (de *Ærit. et Locis*, xxxiii.) that the men of those countries are not naturally courageous, that they do not willingly support fatigues and hardships. This sentiment is still farther confirmed by experience. Greece subdued Asia, the Romans conquered both Greece and Asia, and if they also subjected the Gauls, the Germans and other people of the north, it was because those nations were ignorant of the art of war and were not disciplined. When they became so, they vanquished in their turn the masters of the world, and dismembered their

empire. The Franks vanquished the Gauls, the Lombards seized Italy, and the Visigoths Spain. In a word, we always see that the people of the north prevail over those of the south. See also the notes of Wesseling and Valckenaer, and especially Gataker on *Marc. Antonin.* iv. 39. who, among other passages, quotes one from *Polybius*, iv. 31. which wonderfully confirms this observation. Montesquieu has dedicated several books of his *L'Esprit des Loix*, to prove the truth of this principle. It is strange however that this ingenious and profound writer has not observed that the Christian religion, which adapts itself to all climates, has very much modified this influence. *Larcher.*

wont to produce admirable fruits and men excellent in war. The Persians, perceiving their error, receded from their purpose, and yielded to the opinion of Cyrus; so they choose rather to live in a barren country, and to command, than to cultivate the richest plains, and be subject to others.

THE END.



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## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

<b>THEOCRACY</b> established in Egypt.	B. C.
The High Priests of the eight most ancient Deities govern the country. It is unknown when they began to reign.	
The High Priests of the twelve succeeding Deities possess themselves of the chief power (Herodotus, ii. 43.) about	17570
The High Priests of the Deities of the third order succeed them. That of Osiris begins to reign about.....	15570
That of Orus dispossesses him. Time unknown.	
Theocracy abolished. Menas, 1st King of Egypt, reigns 62 years, according to Eratosthenes, (Syncelli Chronographia, p.91.).....	12356
His son Maneros dies young.....	12340
Three hundred and twenty-nine kings succeed Menas. The last was Mœris. They begin to reign.....	12294
Foundation of Tyre, according to the Tyrians. Herodotus, ii. 44.....	2760
All these events being necessarily posterior to the deluge, which happened 2328 B. C. we must conclude that the Egyptian priests related to Herodotus fables concerning the antiquity of their nation..	
The deluge. ....	2328
Commencement of the Assyrian Empire, according to Ctesias. Diodor. Sic. ii. 21. ....	2107
——According to Diodorus Sic. ii. 28. and Æmilius Sura. Vell. Paterculus, vi.....	2057
——According to Castor. Syncell. Chronograph. p. 205.....	2027
Earthquake which separated Ossa from Olympus, which by making a passage for the waters, rendered Thessaly habitable.	1885
Pelasgus, king of the country, afterwards called Arcadia, passes into Thessaly.....	1884
Rape of Io by the Phœnicians. Herodotus, i. 1.....	1745
Pelasgus, son of Neptune and Sarissa, passes into Thessaly with his brothers Achæus and Phthius, and expels the inhabitants, six generations after Pelasgus king of Arcadia.....	1727
Birth of Moses.....	1611
The daughters of Danaus institute the Thesmophoria.....	1568
Rape of Europa.....	1552
Birth of Minos I. king of Crete.....	1548
Deucalion passes into Thessaly, with the Leleges and Curetes, afterwards called Locrians and Ætolians, and expels the Pelasgians. Dionys. Halicarn. i. 17.....	1541



	B. C
The greater part of the Pelasgians retire to Dodona. Id.	
ib. 18.....	1540
Some Pelasgians go to Crete, others to Lesbos.....	1540
The Pelasgians who had retired to Dodona finding themselves a burden to the natives, settle in the country afterwards called Tyrrhenia. Id. ib. 19.....	1539
The Bœotians settle in Thessaly, near Arne and Iolcos. Strabo, ix. p. 616.....	1535
Origin of the Scythians, according to their own account. Herodotus, iv. 7. ....	1508
Mœris, the last of the 330 kings of Egypt, according to Vecchieti. Herodotus, ii. 101.....	1424
Institution of the Eleusinian mysteries.....	1404
Ion goes into Asia and makes some weak settlements.....	1391
Ion returns into Ægialea.....	1388
Archander and Architeles, sons of Achæus, leave Phthiotis, go to Argos, and each marries a daughter of Danaus. Herodotus, ii. 98. ....	1374
Foundation of Zancle, by the Siculi.....	1369
Pelops arrives in Greece and gets possession of Pisa and Elis.	1362
Sesostris, king of Egypt.....	1356
Œdipus ascends the throne of Thebes.....	1354
Origin of the Scythians, according to the Greeks of Pontus. Herodotus, iv. 8. ....	1354
The Cretans; under Minos II. lay siege to Camicos in Sicily. Herodotus, vii. 170.....	1351
Expedition of the Argonauts; Rape of Medea. ....	1350
Tyrrhenus, son of Atys, settles in Italy, and gives his name to the country. Herodotus, i. 94.....	1344
The Heraclidæ put themselves under the protection of Theseus.....	1321
Pheron, king of Egypt.....	1312
Theseus marches against Eurystheus with Hyllus, son of Hercules. Eurystheus is defeated and slain by Hyllus.....	1311
Hyllus quits the Peloponnese on account of a pestilence....	1310
Theseus carries off Helen. Herodotus, ix. 72.....	1296
Proteus, king of Egypt. ....	1294
Hyllus killed by Echemus of Tegea. Herodotus, ix. 26 ...	1290
Rape of Helen by Paris.....	1290
Siege of Troy formed by the Greeks.....	1280
Taking of Troy 23d of May.....	1270
The Assyrians masters of Higher Asia. Herodotus, i. 95...	1267
Birth of Pan. Herodotus, ii. 145.....	1260
The third attempt of the Heraclidæ to recover the Peloponnese, under Cleodæus, son of Hyllus. ....	1245
Rhampsinitus, king of Egypt.....	1244
End of the dynasty of the Atyadæ, kings of Lydia: the commencement is unknown. Commencement of the dynasty of the Heraclidæ. Agron the first of that dynasty. Herodotus, i. 7. ....	1220
Birth of Theras, son of Autesion: he was the tenth descendant from Cadmus.....	1214

B. C.

The fourth attempt of the Heraclidæ under Aristomachus, son of Cleodæus. Aristomachus is slain, and leaves three sons under age, Aristodemus, Temenus and Cresphontes .....	1210
The Bœotians return into Bœotia. Thucyd. i. 12.....	1210
The Pelasgians who had settled in Tyrrhenia, are expelled by the natives and go to Attica. Herodotus, vi. 137. ....	1209
The Pelasgians who had entered Bœotia, join the Pelasgi-Tyrrhenians in Attica .....	1207
The Pelasgians build the Pelasgic wall for the Athenians. Herodotus, vi. 137.....	1192
Conquest of the Peloponnese by Aristodemus, Cresphontes and Temenus. ....	1190
The Achæans, driven by the Heraclidæ, take refuge in Ægiælea, afterwards called Achæa, then possessed by the Ionians....	1189
Death of Aristodemus: he leaves the crown of Lacedæmon to his two infant sons, Procles and Eurysthenes; Theras, son of Autesion, their maternal uncle, is their guardian. Herodot. iv. 147. and vi. 52.....	1178
Cheops, king of Egypt. Herodotus, ii. 127.....	1178
The Pelasgians are expelled from Attica by the Athenians and conquer Lemnos. Herodotus, vi. 137.....	1162
The Minyæ, driven from Lemnos by the Pelasgians, fly to Lacedæmon. Herodotus, iv. 145.....	1160
The Pelasgians carry off the Athenian women from Brauron. Herodot. vi. 138 .....	1152
Colonization of the island Callista, afterwards called Thera, by Theras and some of the Minyæ. Herodot. iv. 148. ....	1150
Foundation of Leprium, Macistus, Phrixæ, Pyrgus, Epium, and Nudium in Triphylia, by the Minyæ. Herodot. iv. 148...	1149
The Pelasgians of Lemnos put to death the children they had by the Athenian women, and also the mothers themselves. Herodot. vi. 138. ....	1139
Self-devotion of Codrus, the last king of Athens.....	1132
Ionic migration, according to Apollodorus and Eratosthenes. Clement. Alexandr. Stromat. i. p. 388 and 402.....	1130
Chephren, king of Egypt. Herodot. ii. 127.....	1128
Birth of the first known ancestor of the historian Hecataeus of Miletus. Herodot. ii. 143. ....	1082
Mycerinus, king of Egypt. Herodot. ii. 129.....	1072
The Siculi drive the Sicanians from Sicily, three ages before the establishment of the Greeks in Sicily. Thucyd. vi. 2.	1059
Zancle, afterwards called Messina, founded by the Siculi. Thucyd. vi. 4. ....	1058
Asychis, king of Egypt. Herodot. ii. 136. ....	1052
War between the Lacedæmonians and Argives about Cynuria. Herodot. i. 82.....	1032
Anysis king of Egypt. Herodot. ii. 137.....	1012
Anysis, driven from his kingdom by an Ethiopian king, takes refuge in the isle of Elbo.....	1012
Sisac, who succeeded the Ethiopian usurper in the sovereignty of Egypt, pillages the temple at Jerusalem. 1 Kings, xiv. 25.	970
Anysis leaves Elbo after 50 years, and maintains himself	



on the throne till his death. Herodot. ii. 140.....	B. C. 961
Anysis dies. Id. ibid.....	954
N. B. There is in this part of Herodotus an hiatus of 241 years, concerning the history of Egypt. See my Essay on Chronology, ch. i. 12.	
Phidon, king of Argos, invented weights, measures, &c. Herodot. vi. 127. ....	895
Charillus, son of Polydectes, king of Lacedæmon, of the House of Procles, or the second House : Lycurgus is his guardian. ....	888

	B. C.	Olymp. of Iphitus.
The Olympic games instituted by Hercules, Pelops and Pisus, having been interrupted, are renewed by Lycurgus of Lacedæmon, Iphitus of Elis, and Cleosthenes of Pisa, twenty-seven Olympiads before that in which Coræbus of Elis won the prize. ....	884	1. 1
Birth of Homer and Hesiod. Herodot. ii. 53. ....	884	1. 1
Legislation of Lycurgus. ....	866	V. 3
Last year of the Olympiads of Iphitus. ....	777	XXVII. 4

	B. C.	Ol. of Coræbus.
The victors at the Olympic games were not up to this time enrolled in the public registers. They were in the following Olympiad. This Olympiad is considered as the first, because it is the one from which the Greeks have always calculated. It is called the Olympiad of Coræbus, because Coræbus of Elis obtained the prize....	776	1. 1
Birth of Echecrates, descendant of Elatus, king of the Lapithæ, and grandfather of Cypselus, king of Corinth. Herodot. v. 92. ....	774	3
Sabacos, king of Ethiopia, conquers Egypt. Herodot. ii. 139. ....	763	IV. 2
Foundation of Naxos in Sicily. Thucyd. vi. 3. ....	759	V. 2
Foundation of Rome, according to Varro, in the spring. Plutarch in Romulo, p. 24. ....	754	VI. 2
The Medes shake off the Assyrian yoke.....	748	VIII. 1
First Messenian war.....	743	IX. 2
Birth of Eetion, father of Cypselus, king of Corinth.....	742	3
Midas, son of Gordius, king of Phrygia. Herodot. i. 14.....	737	X. 4
End of the first Messenian war. ....	723	XIV. 2
Death of Candaules, last king of Lydia, of the race of the Heraclidæ. Herodot. i. 12.....	715	XVI. 1
Numa Pompilius elected king of Rome.....	714	3
Sethos, king of Egypt. Herodot. ii. 141.....	713	4

	B. C.	Ol. of Corcebus
Sennacherib, king of Assyria, enters Judæa, sends one of his generals to Jerusalem and passes into Egypt. 2 Kings xviii. 13.....	713	XVI. 4
Sennacherib defeated by the Egyptians. Herodot. ii. 141.....	712	XVII. 1
Deioces elected king of the Medes. Herodot. i. 98. ....	709	4
Ameinocles of Corinth builds the four first triremes for the Samians. Thucydid. i. 13.....	704	XIX. 1
Birth of Cypselus, king of Corinth. Herodot. v. 92. ....	700	XX. 1
Second Messenian war.....	682	XXIV. 3
Foundation of Chalcedon. Herodot. iv. 144...	675	XXVI. 2
Twelve kings, among whom is Psammetichus, govern Egypt fifteen years with equal authority. Herodot. ii. 147. ....	671	XXVII. 2
End of the second Messenian war.....	668	XXVIII. 1
Engagement between the Corinthians and Corcyræans. Thucydid. i. 13. ....	664	XXIX. 1
Foundation of Byzantium. Herodot. iv. 144.	658	XXX. 3
Phraortes, king of the Medes. Herodot. i. 102.....	656	XXXI. 1
Psammetichus expels his colleagues and becomes sole king of Egypt. Herodot. ii 152.....	656	1
Foundation of Abdera. Herodot. i. 148.....	655	2
Orthagoras, tyrant of Sicyon. Herodot. v. 66.	655	2
Eurycrates II. king of Lacedæmon, of the first family. Herodotus calls him Eurycratides. Herodot. viii. 204.....	651	XXXII. 2
A Samian vessel is driven to Tartessus; the first Greek ship that ever put in there. Herod. iv. 152. ....	640	XXXIV. 4
Cylon obtains the prize in the double stadium at the Olympic games. Herodot. v. 61....	640	XXXV. 1
Battus colonizes the island Plataea. Herodot. iv. 157. ....	639	2
Birth of Solon. ....	638	3
Cyaxares succeeds Phraortes in the kingdom of Media. Herodot. i. 103. ....	634	XXXVI. 3
Taking of Sardis by the Cimmerians. Herodot. i. 16. ....		
Cyaxares forms the siege of Nineveh; and is attacked and defeated by the Cimmerians. Herodot. i. 103.....	633	4
Periander succeeds Cypselus of Corinth. ....	631	XXXVII. 2
Battus I. founds Cyrene. Herodot. iv. 158...		
Sadyattes, king of Lydia. Herodot. i. 16...	628	XXXVIII. 1
The Scythians ravage Judæa and take Ascalon: they then proceed towards Egypt, but are diverted by the presents of Psammetichus. Herodot. i. 105.....		



	B. C.	Ol. of Coræbus.
Thrasylbulus, tyrant of Miletus. Herodot. i. 20. ....	625	XXXVIII. 4
Agasicles, king of Lacedæmon, of the second House. Herodot. i. 55. ....	624	XXXIX. 1
Nabopolassar II. the same as the Nabuchodonosor of Scripture, and the Labynetus of Herodotus. ....	623	2
War between Sadyattes king of Lydia and the Milesians. Herodot. i. 17. ....	622	3
Æsop flourishes. ....	621	4
The Lacedæmonians meet with losses in the war with Tegea. Herodot. i. 66. ....	620	XL. 1
Necos, king of Egypt. Herodot. ii. 159. ....	617	4
Alyattes, king of Lydia. Herodot. i. 25. ....	616	XLI. 1
The Cimmerians driven from Asia Minor. Herodot. i. 16. ....	613	4
Conspiracy of Cylon. Herodot. v. 71. ....	612	XLII. 1
Necos enters Judæa in his march against the Assyrians. 2 Kings xxiii. 29. Herodot. ii. 159. ....	611	2
End of the war between the Lydians and Milesians. Herodot. i. 18, 19 and 22. ....	610	3
Some Phœnicians sail round Africa. Herodot. iv. 42. ....	609	4
The Scythians driven from Higher Asia. Herodot. i. 106. ....	605	XLIII. 4
Cyaxares takes Nineveh. Herodot. i. 106. ...	603	XLIV. 2
War between Cyaxares and Alyattes. Herod. i. 73. ....	602	3
Psammis, king of Egypt. Herodot. ii. 161. ....	601	4
Eclipse of the sun on the 9th of July, predicted by Thales. Herodot. i. 74. ....	597	XLV. 4
Birth of Mandane, daughter of Astyages. ...	596	XLVI. 1
Apries, king of Egypt. Herodot. ii. 161. ...	595	2
Birth of Cræsus, son of Alyattes, king of Lydia. ....		
Astyages, king of the Medes. Herodot. i. 130. ....	594	3
Legislation of Solon. ....	594	3
Anacharsis travels through Greece. ....	592	XLVII. 1
Arcesilaus I. king of Cyrene. Herodot. iv. 159. ....	591	2
Mandane, the daughter of Astyages, espouses Cambyses, a Persian of good family. Herod. i. 107. ....	576	LI. 1
Lycophron is banished to Corcyra, by his father Periander, tyrant of Corinth. Herodot. iii. 50. ....	575	2
Birth of Cyrus. Herodot. i. 108. ....	575	2
Battus II. king of Cyrene. Herod. iv. 159. }		
Ariston, king of Lacedæmon, of the second Family, cotemporary with Anaxandrides. Herod. i. 65. ....	574	3

	B. C.	Ol. of Corcebus.
Cræsus is associated on the throne of Lydia, by his father Alyattes.....	574	LI. 3
Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, obtains the prize at the Olympic games. Herodot. vi. 126.	572	LII. 1
The Phocæans, alarmed at the conquests of Cræsus, raise their walls by the liberality of Arganthonius, king of Tartessus. Herod. i. 63.	571	2
Amasis, king of Egypt. Herodot. ii. 172.		
Megacles, son of Alcmaeon, espouses Agarriste, the daughter of Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. Herod. vi. 130.....	570	3
Solon visits Sardis. Herodot. i. 30.....		
Rhodopis, the celebrated courtesan, flourishes. Herodot. ii. 134.....	567	LIII. 2
Periander sends 300 boys of the chief families of Corcyra to Alyattes to be castrated. Herodot. iii. 48. ....	565	4
Periander reconciles Hegesistratus, son of Pisistratus, to the Myteleneans. Herodot. v. 94 and 95.....	564	LIV. 1
Death of Periander. ....	563	2
Alalia founded in Corsica by the Phocæans. Herodot. i. 165.....	562	3
Pisistratus acquires the sovereign power at Athens for the first time; in January. Marm. Oxon. Epoch. 41.....	561	3
Cræsus loses his eldest son in the chase. Herodot. i. 43.....	560	4
Cræsus ascends the throne of Lydia, on account of the death of his father, about the end of May. ....	559	LV. 1
Cyrus, king of Persia. Herodot. i. 130. ....	559	2
Pisistratus driven from Athens. Herodot. i. 59. ....	559	2
The Samians sieze a corselet sent by Amasis to the Lacedæmonians. Herodot. iii. 47.....	556	LVI. 1
The Samians sieze a bowl, which the Lacedæmonians had sent to Cræsus. Id. ib. ....	555	2
Lycurgus and Megacles, who had united to expel Pisistratus, disagree: Megacles offers to re-establish Pisistratus, if he would marry his daughter. Herodot. i. 60. ....	555	2
Arcesilaus II. king of Cyrene.....		
Cræsus makes an alliance with the Lacedæmonians. Herodot. i. 69 and 70. ....	554	3
Pisistratus expelled a second time. Herod. i. 61. ....		
Foundation of Barce in Lybia. Herodot. iv. 140. ....	553	4
Apries strangled. Herodot. ii. 169.....		
Birth of Darius. Herodot. i. 209.....	550	LVII. 3



	B. C.	Ol. of Corœbus.
Death of Arganthonius, king of Tartessus.	549	LVII. 4
Birth of the historian Hecataeus of Mile-		
tus.....		
Conflagration of the temple of Delphi. He-	548	LVIII. 1
rodot. i. 50. and ii. 180.....		
The Lacedæmonians recommence war with	546	3
the Tegeatæ with greater success, and take Te-		
gea. Herodot. i. 48. ....		
War between the Spartans and Argives,	545	3
about Thyrea, in the spring. Herodot. i. 82. ...		
Cræsus dethroned by Cyrus. Herod. i. 84. &c.	545	4
Engagement between 300 Argives and 300	544	LIX. 1
Spartans, &c. Herodot. i. 82. ....		
Arcesilaus II. king of Cyrene, is poisoned.		
Plutarch de Virt. Mul. p. 260. Battus III.		
succeeds him. Herodot. iv. 161. ....		
The Newri settle in the country of the	543	2
Budini. Herodot. iv. 105.....		
Advice of Thales to the Ionians. Herodot. i.	542	3
171. He died the same year at the age of ninety.		
Diogen. Laert. i. 37.....		
The wife of Anaxandrides being barren,	540	LX. 1
he takes a second by the advice of the Ephori.		
Herodot. v. 40. ....		
Pisistratus a third time established in the	538	3
sovereignty of Athens. Herodot. i. 61.....		
Taking of Phocæa by Harpagus, one of the	536	LXI. 1
generals of Cyrus. Herodot. i. 164.....		
Cimon, son of Stesagoras, victorious in the	533	LXII. 1
Olympic games in a four-horsed chariot,		
causes his brother Miltiades to be proclaimed		
as victor. Herodot. vi. 103. ....		
Advice of Bios to the Ionians. Herodot. i.	532	2
171.....		
Cyrus takes Babylon. Herodot. i. 191.	533	2
The Phocæans defeat the Carthaginians	531	2
and Tyrrhenians. Herodot. i. 166.....		
Cimon obtains a second victory at the	530	3
Olympic games, and causes Pisistratus to be		
proclaimed in his stead. Herodot. vi. 103.....		
Birth of Themistocles.....		
Hyela in Cœnotria founded by the Phocæans.	530	3
Herodot. i. 167.....		
Cimon obtains a third victory. Id. vi. 103...		
Polycrates usurps the tyranny of Samos. Id.	530	3
iii. 120. ....		
Stesagoras, son of Cimon, succeeds his uncle	530	3
Miltiades in the Chersonese. Id. vi. 38.....		
Death of Cyrus. Id. i. 214.....		
Anacreon arrives at the court of Polycrates.	530	3
Id. iii. 121.....		

	B. C.	Ol. of Corœbus.
Cambyses, king of Persia. Id. ii. 1.....	529	LXII. 4
Arcesilaus III. king of Cýrene. Id. vi. 162.		
Nitetic, daughter of Apries, sent to Cam-	528	LXIII. 1
byses. Id. iii. 1.....		
Death of Pisistratus, who is succeeded by	527	2
his eldest son Hippias. Id. v. 55.....		
Euelthon, king of Salamis in Cyprus. Id.	526	3
iv. 162. ....		
Cimon assassinated by the sons of Pisistra-	525	4
tus. Id. vi. 103.....		
Psammenitus, king of Egypt. Id. iii. 10.....	525	4
Conquest of Egypt by Cambyses. Id. iii.		
10, &c. ....	525	4
The Spartans send troops against Polycra-		
tes. Id. iii. 39. ....	524	LXIV. 1
Birth of Æschylus. Marm. Oxon. Epoch.		
49. ....	523	2
Foundation of Cydonia in Crete. Id. iii. 44		
and 49. ....	522	2
Death of Polycrates. Id. iii. 125.....		
Death of Cambyses. Id. iii. 46 and 47.....	522	2
The Magus Smerdis usurps the throne. Id.		
iii. 47.....	522	3
Darius, son of Hystaspes, elected king of Per-		
sia. Id. iii. 88. ....	521	3
Siromus, son of Euelthon, king of Salamis in		
Cyprus. Id. v. 104. ....	521	4
Demaratus, son of Ariston, king of Sparta of		
the second House. Id. vi. 64.....	520	LXV. 1
The Plataeans put themselves under the pro-		
tection of Athens. Id. vi. 108. Thucyd. iii. 68.	519	1
The Samian exiles, who founded Cydonia,		
are enslaved by Æginetæ. Herod. iii. 59 ...	518	3
Battus IV. king of Cyrene. ....		
Miltiades, son of Cimon and brother of	517	3
Stesagoras, retires to the Chersonese.....		
The Barcæans besieged by the Persians in	516	LXVI 1
compliance with the request of Pheretime,		
widow of Battus III. and mother of Arcesilaus the III. Herodot. iv. 203 and 204.....	517	3
Birth of Pindar in April .....		
Babylon revolts against Darius. Herod. iii. 150.	516	1
Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides, king of		
Sparta. Id. v. 42. ....	515	2
Dorieus, his brother, leads a colony into		
Lybia. Id. ibid.....	515	2
Chersis, son of Siromus, king of Salamis		
in Cyprus. ....	515	2
Stesagoras, prince of the Chersonesus killed.		
His brother Miltiades is sent by the Pisistratidæ to govern that country. Herodot. vi. 39.		



	B. C.	Ol. of Coræbus.
Cleomenes defeats the Argives and violates the sanctity of the grove of Argos. Id. vi. 75.	514	LXVI. 3
Hipparchus killed. Hippias succeeds him. Id. v. 55.....		
Darius takes Babylon. Id. iii. 153, &c.....	513	4
Syloson obtains from Darius the tyranny of Samos. Id. iii. 140, 141 and 149.....	512	LXVII. 1
The Alcmaeonidæ engage to rebuild the temple of Delphi. Id. ii. 190, and v. 62. Spintharus was the architect. Pausan. x. 5.		
Otanes subdues Lemnos and Imbros. Herodot. v. 26.....	511	2
Hippias expelled from Athens. Id. v. 65....	510	2
Miltiades sails from the Chersonese and takes Lemnos. Id. vi. 189.....	510	3
Athens split into factions; that of Clisthenes superior. He establishes ten tribes instead of four. Id. v. 66.....	509	4
Kingly power abolished at Rome.....		
Euryleon, the companion of Dorieus, gets possession of Minoa in Sicily, and gives it the name of Heraclea. Herod. v. 46.....	508	4
Cleomenes expels Clisthenes from Athens, but attempting to dissolve the council, he is compelled to evacuate Attica by the indignant people. Id. v. 72.....	508	LXVIII. 1
Expedition of Darius against the Scythians. Id. iv. 1.....		
Cleomenes enters Attica with large forces to re-establish Hippias, but being abandoned by the Corinthians, and his colleague Demaratus, retires. Id. v. 75.....	507	2
Invasion of the Chersonese by the Scythians. Id. vi. 40. ....		
Miltiades returns to the Chersonese. ....	506	3
The Athenians defeat the Bœotians, invade Eubœa and conquer the Chalcidians. Herod. v. 77.		
Cleander reigns at Gela. Id. vii. 154.....	505	4
Commencement of disturbances in Ionia. Id. v. 28. ....	504	LXIX. 1
Ionia rises up against Darius. Burning of Sardis. Id. v. 100, &c.....	503	2
Gorgus, son of Chersis, king of Salamis in Cyprus. Id. v. 104.....	502	3
The Cyprians revolt against the Persians.		
The Cyprians again brought under the yoke. Id. v. 116.....	501	4
Cleander, tyrant of Gela, killed by Sabyllus: Hippocrates succeeds him. Id. vii. 154, 155.....	498	LXX. 3
Miletus taken by the Persians. Id. vi. 18.		

	B. C.	Ol. of Corcebus.
Aristagoras, who stirred up Ionia to revolt, is slain by the Thracians, while besieging Novem-Viæ. Id. vi. 126. and Thucyd. iv. 102.....	498	LXX. 3
Birth of Sophocles. Marm. Oxon. Epoch. 57.....		
Representation of the drama of Phrynichus, entitled the taking of Miletus. Herod. vi. 21.....	497	4
The Samians get possession of Zancle, afterwards called Messana. Id. vi. 23. ....		
Chios, Tenedos, &c. taken by the Persians. Metiochus, the eldest son of Miltiades, made prisoner with his vessel by the Persians. Miltiades reaches Imbros with four other vessels in safety. Pacification of Ionia. Id. vi. 41, 42.....		
Preparations of Darius for a war against Greece. ....		
Scythes, tyrant of Zancle, who had been made prisoner by Hippocrates, escapes to Persia. Herodot. vi. 24. ....	496	LXXI. 1
Mardonius sets out for Greece in the spring. ....		
Part of the fleet of Mardonius wrecked near Mount Athos. Return of that general into Asia. Herodot. vi. 44, 45.....	495	2
Birth of Sophocles. Auctor Vit. Sophoclis. ....		
The Thasians pull down their walls in obedience to the orders of Darius. Herodot. vi. 48.....	493	4
The heralds of Darius go to Greece and demand earth and water. Id. ibid.....		
The Æginetæ give earth and water. Id. ibid. 49.....		
Cleomenes crosses over to Ægina to seize those Æginetæ who were accused of favouring the Persians, but is baffled by the suggestions of Demaratus and forced to depart. At his return to Sparta he procures the banishment of Demaratus. Leotychides, king of Lacedæmon, of the second House. Id. vi. 50, 65, &c.....	492	LXXII. 1
Fresh preparations of the Persians against Greece. Id. vi. 94.....		
Cleomenes returns to Ægina accompanied by Leotychides and seizes the guilty. Id. vi. 73.....	491	2
Demaratus goes to the court of Persia. Id. vi. 70.....		
Gelon gets possession of Gela. Id. vii. 154, 155. Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. vii. 1...		



Cleomenes, finding his intrigues against Demaratus discovered, goes into Thrace, and from thence into Arcadia, where he endeavours to stir up the people against the Lacedæmonians. Herodot. vi. 74. ....	490	3
He is recalled to Sparta, through fear of his intrigues. Id. ibid. 75. ....	490	3
The Persians plunder Naxos and take the towns of Carystus and Eretria. Id. ibid. 96, 99, 101. ....		
Battle of Marathon gained by Miltiades about the 17th of August. Memoires de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xviii. Hist. p. 149, &c. ....		
Cleomenes kills himself in a fit of madness. Leonidas, his brother, succeeds him at the age of 50 years. Herodot. vi. 75. ....	489	4
Miltiades not being successful in the siege of Paros, is brought to a trial and dies in prison. Id. ibid. 132, 136. ....		
Darius makes fresh preparations against Greece. Id. viii. 1. ....		
Zeuxidamus the son of Leotychides dies of a disease. Id. vi. 71. ....	488	LXXIII. 1
Leotychides marries a second wife, Eurydame, by whom he has a daughter named Lampito. Id. ibid. ....	487	2
Egypt revolts against the Persians. Id. vii. 1. ....	486	3
Birth of Euripides. Marm. Oxon. Epoch. 51. ....	485	4
Death of Darius. Xerxes, king of Persia. Herodot. vii. 4, 5. ....		
Xerxes subdues Egypt. Id. ibid. 7. ....		
Achæmenes, a younger brother of Xerxes, is appointed governor. Id. ibid. ....	484	LXXIV. 1
Birth of Herodotus. Aul. Gell. xv. 23. ...		
Gelon makes himself master of Syracuse. Herodot. vii. 156. ....		
Gelon destroys Camarina and transports the inhabitants to Syracuse. Id. ibid. ....	483	2
Gelon transports to Syracuse half the inhabitants of Gela. Id. ibid. ....	482	2
Victory obtained by the Phocæans over the Thessalians. Id. viii. 27, 28. ....		
Aristides, surnamed the Just, banished by Ostracism. ....		
Plutarch, in Aristide, p. 322. Corn. Nepos, in Aristide, cap. I. ....	482	3
Demaratus gives the Lacedæmonians information concerning the armament of Xerxes. Herodot. vii. 239. ....		

	B. C.	Ol. of Corœbus.
Gelon destroys Megara in Sicily. Id. vii. 156.	482	LXXIV. 3
Eclipse of the sun on the 19th of April.		
Id. vii. 37. Pingre, Chronologie des Eclipses.		
Memoires de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom.		
42. Hist. pag. 123.....	481	3
Xerxes leaves Susa about the end of		
April.....		
Xerxes reaches Sardis at the beginning of		
autumn, and passes the winter there. Herodot.		
vii. 32.....	481	4
Deputation of the Greeks to Gelon, to so-		
licit his assistance, about the spring. Id. vii.		
153, 157, &c.....	480	4
Xerxes leaves Sardis in the spring. Id. ib.		
37.....		
Battle of Thermopylæ. Id. ib. 210, &c....		
Plistarchus, yet a minor, succeeds Leoni-		
das. Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, is his		
guardian. ....	480	LXXV. 1
Aristides is recalled in the third year of his		
banishment. Plutarch, in Arist. p. 323. Cor.		
Nepos. in Arist. cap. 1. et ibi not. Bosii.....		
Xerxes takes Athens and carries off the		
statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Pau-		
san. i. 8.....		
Battle of Salamis on the 20th of Boedro-		
mion (30th September) .....		
Gelon defeats the Carthaginians. Herodot.		
vii. 166. ....	480	1
Eclipse of the sun on the 2nd of October.		
Herodot. ix. 10.....		
Birth of Euripides. Plutarch, Symp. viii. 1.		
Diogen. Laert. ii. 45.....		
Battle of Platœa won by Pausanians, guard-		
ian of Plistarchus. Herodot. ix. 59, &c.....		
Victory obtained at Mycale by Leotychi-		
des on the same day, the 4th of Boedromion,		
(14th of September.) Id. ix. 90, 97, &c.....	479	2
Death of Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse. His		
brother Hiero succeeds him.....	478	3
The Athenians rebuild their walls.....		
Pausanias sent to expel the Persians from		
Cyprus and the cities on the Hellespont, is re-		
called, tried, and acquitted, but not sent back		
to the fleet.....	478	3
Pausanias put to death. Plistarchus dies		
soon after and is succeeded by Plistoanax....		
Exile of Themistocles.....	477	4
The command of Greece transferred to the		
Athenians.....		



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Birth of Thucydides, in the spring. Aul. Gell. xv. 23.....	471	LXXVII. 1
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